Vol. XLIII SEPTEMBER, 1910 No. 3

Ecclesiastical Review

A Monthly Publication for the Clergy

Cum Approbatione Superiorum

CONTENTS

THE ASSUMPTION OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN MARY (Concluded) 257
The Rev. F. G. HOLWECK, St. Louis, Missouri.

APOLOGETICS FOR THE COMMON MAN 278
The Rev. H. G. HUGHES, Norwich, England.

LET US MAKE TIME FOR THE STUDY OF POSITIVE THEOLOGY 293
The Rev. J. C. MACMILLAN, Cardigan Bridge, P.E I., Canada.

LUTHER IN PROTESTANT PICTORIAL AND BIOGRAPHIC PORTRAITURE 300
The Rev. H. G. GANSS, Mus. Doc., Lancaster, Penna.

DE LICEITATE CUJUSDAM OPERATIONIS. A Criticism 310
NEO-SCHOLASTICUS.

DE VASECTOMIA 320
The Rev. THEODORE LABOURÉ, O.M.I., Theological Seminary, San Antonio, Texas.

THE STORY OF A MODERN CAPUCHIN. IV. 329
R. F. O'CONNOR, Cork, Ireland.

CONTENTS CONTINUED INSIDE.

PHILADELPHIA, 1305 ARCH STREET

American Ecclesiastical Review

Subscription Price, Three Dollars and Fifty Cents a Year

Subscription Price, Foreign, Fifteen Shillings a Year

R. and T. WASHBOURNE, Ltd., 4 Paternoster Row, London, England
W. P. LINEHAN, 309 Little Collins Street, Melbourne, Australia

COPYRIGHT, 1910
THE DOLPHIN PRESS

Entered 5 June, 1902, as second-class matter, Post Office at Philadelphia, Pa., under Act of 3 March, 1879.

St. Bernard's Seminary Altar Wine

THE Seminary owns sixty acres of Vineyard in full bearing. Its wine is made under the direct supervision of the BISHOP, and has his ABSOLUTE GUARANTEE of purity. It is made from the juice of the grape and advantage is not taken of the permission given to use cognac for fortification. *No dealer has this wine for sale.*

One case of 25 bottles	$6.00
One keg of 5 gallons	5.50
One keg of 10 gallons	10.00
One keg of 23 gallons	20.00
One barrel	40.00
One case of 25 bottles of "Elvira" Wine	9.00

SEND FOR CIRCULAR

The sale of this Wine is in charge of the Rev. M. J. NOLAN, D.D., Chancellor, Rochester, N. Y., to whom all communications should be addressed.

ALTAR WINES BEYOND DOUBT

FROM THE

Sacred Heart Novitiate, Los Gatos, Cal.

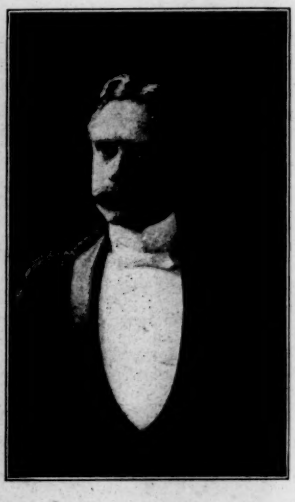
MALVOISIE. Mild, dry wine; free from all acidity; pinkish in color; agreeable; digestible; excellent quality. Per gal., $1.10; per doz., $4.00. In bbl. lots and over, $1.00 per gal.

NOVITIATE. Generous and full-bodied; somewhat sweet and resembles the Spanish wines; is the highest form of absolutely pure wine of its kind produced on this continent. Does not require bottling. Per gal., $1.50; per doz., $5.00.

Made by ourselves especially for the purpose D. GIACOBBI, S.J., Rector.

SOLE AGENTS, **BARNSTON TEA CO.**

P. A. MAHONY, Treas. and Sec. No. 6 BARCLAY ST.. New York.



MR. J. W. DONNELLY

THE VALID

ALTAR WINES

OF

The Donnelly Brothers

Established 1870

The date 1870 indicates that this year, 1910 we complete our **fortieth** year in the sale of Altar Wines.

We are happy to say our senior, and sole surviving owner, Mr. James W. Donnelly, continues to give his close attention to the business now, as during the past forty years, fortified by the good wishes of the Rt. Rev. and Rev. Clergy throughout the United States.

Our wines are popular because of their proven purity, and agreeableness for use when fasting.

"Collegiate"—mild, mellow and fruity.

"Jurancon"—delicate and grateful.

"Vin de Tours"—a generous, full-bodied wine.

A sample order solicited. Satisfaction guaranteed. Please address,

THE DONNELLY BROTHERS

TROY N. Y.

CONTENTS CONTINUED

ANALECTA:

ACTA PII PP. X:

Motu proprio: De iureiurando conceptis verbis dando ab iis qui Doctores in Sacra Scriptura sunt renuntiandi.....352

S. CONGREGATIO DE RELIGIOSIS:

De Abbatissis et aliis Praefectis perpetuis extra Italiam.....354

S. CONGREGATIO RITUUM:

Super Missa seu Collecta in Anniversario Electionis seu Translationis Episcopi, iuxta Caeremoniale Episcoporum.....354

STUDIES AND CONFERENCES:

Our Analecta—Roman Documents for the Month.....356

Mea responsio R.R. P.P. Donovan et Labouré quoad Quaestionem motam de Liceitate Vasectomiae (*The Right Rev. Mgr. Jules De Becker, J.U.D., Louvain University, Belgium*).....356

The Priest's Reading, Speaking, and Singing in Church (*The Right Rev. Mgr. Philip R. McDevitt, Superintendent of Parish Schools, Philadelphia, Pa.*).....359

The Arms of Pius X and His Grace of Newfoundland (*The Rev. Aloysius Brucker, S.J., Conejos, Colorado*).....363

Temperance Work in our Schools (*The Rev. William J. McGurk, South Manchester, Conn.*).....365

CRITICISMS AND NOTES:

Bachofen: Summa Juris Ecclesiastici Publici.....369

Cauzons: Histoire de l' Inquisition en France.....371

Healy: Papers and Addresses.....377

Abt: Une Conversion de Protestants par la Sainte Eucharistie.....377

LITERARY CHAT.....379

BOOKS RECEIVED.....383

(OVER)

THE ARTICLE IN THE JUNE NUMBER
(pp. 674-689) ON

THE ETHICS OF FOETICIDE

may be obtained as a separate pamphlet, by any of our readers who wish to place a copy in the hands of physicians in their parishes.

Dr. O'Malley's paper states clearly and briefly the rights of the unborn child. As his document is addressed to the medical fraternity, the pamphlet will serve the priest as an admirable answer to the doctors who may consult him about this most important matter.

Price, Ten Cents a copy
12 Copies $1.00

American Ecclesiastical Review
The Dolphin Press
1305 Arch Street Philadelphia

THE ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW

FIFTH SERIES,—VOL. III.—(XLIII).—SEPTEMBER, 1910.—NO. 3.

THE ASSUMPTION OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN MARY.

3. APOCRYPHAL ACCOUNT OF THE DEATH AND ASSUMPTION OF MARY.

PROBABLY the original meaning of the term "Apocryphon" is this: A composition which claimed a sacred origin and was supposed to have been hidden for generations, either absolutely, awaiting the due time for its revelation, or relatively, inasmuch as knowledge of it was confined to a limited, esoteric circle. The term, however, soon came to have an unfavorable signification, which it still retains, connoting both want of genuineness and canonicity.[33] It would be an error to say that all the Apocrypha contain naught but fiction; most of them (e. g., the Protoevangel of St. James) are built upon a basis of truth, but we have no definite and reliable criterion by which to distinguish history from myth, fact from fancy. There sprang up about the trunk of the historical canonical Scriptures a wild and luxuriant growth of legends, partly written for edification, partly to propagate the doctrines of some heresy. They are all characterized by weirdness, extravagance, and absurdity.

The *Transitus S. Mariae,* or "Gospel of St. John the Theologian" written under the name of St. John the Apostle. which describes the death and Assumption of Mary, enjoyed a wide popularity. The Greek version of this apocryphon bears the superscription: "The account of St. John the Theologian of the Falling Asleep of the Holy Mother of God."

[33] T. Reed, "Apocrypha," *Cath. Encyclopedia,* I, 601.

The original text, composed probably in Syriac or Greek, may have originated in the beginning of the fifth century. There are many forms of the legend in Greek, Latin, Syriac, Arabic, and Coptic. The Greek and Latin versions were published by Tischendorf.[34] One of the Latin redactions is prefaced by a spurious letter of St. Melito, Bishop of Sardes. This version was known early in Rome and was censured by the so-called Gelasian decree in the beginning of the sixth century. The Syriac versions were edited by S. Wright.[35] The Arabic version by Enger in 1864; the Coptic by Robinson.[36]

A. Walker[37] has published in English one Greek and two Latin versions in his *Apocryphal Gospels, Acts, and Revelations.* In the MSS. of the various redactions the work is ascribed most frequently to St. John the Evangelist, but sometimes to St. James the Lesser, St. Bartholomew, St. Nicodemus, Evodius, Leucius, St. Melito, John of Saloniki, and St. Dionysius the Areopagite.[38]

The old Syrian manuscript and the edition of the Greek version made by John of Saloniki do not say where Mary died; they do not mention Sion or Gethsemane. According to another set of versions, all the Apostles, including St. Paul, were present at her death and burial, and Mary was taken up to heaven on the very day of her interment, under the very eyes of the Apostles, within the second year after the Ascension of Christ. A third rescension describes St. Thomas as arriving too late and transfers the Assumption to the third day after Mary's death, an adaptation from the corresponding gospel narratives of the Resurrection of Christ.

We present to our readers an extract from the Greek recension of the legend, adding the principal variations found in other versions:

[34] *Apocalypses Apocryphae*, 1866.

[35] *Contributions to Apocryphal Literature*, 1865; and in the *Journal of Sacred Literature*, 1865.

[36] *Coptic Apocryphal Gospels*, 1896.

[37] Edinburgh, 1873.

[38] E. Lucius-Anrich, *Die Anfaenge des Heiligenkultus in der Christlichen Kirche*, Tübingen, 1904, p. 512; *Panagia Kapuli*, 43 ff.

AN ACCOUNT OF THE PASSING AWAY OF THE HOLY MOTHER OF GOD BY ST. JOHN THE THEOLOGIAN.

The Jews, seeing Mary lingering by the Divine sepulchre, came to the chief priests saying: Mary goes every day to the tomb. And the chief priests having summoned the guards set by them not to allow any one to pray at the holy sepulchre, inquired about her, whether in truth it were so. And the guards answered and said that they had not seen such a thing, God not having allowed them to see her when there.

And one day Holy Mary came to the sepulchre and it came to pass that the heavens were opened and the Archangel Gabriel came down to her and said: Hail, thy prayer has been accepted, thou shalt go to the heavenly places by thy Son in the everlasting life.[39]

And having heard this from the holy archangel, she returned to Bethlehem, having with her three virgins who ministered unto her.[40]

And she prayed saying: My Lord Jesus Christ, hear my voice and send me Thy Apostle John, and send me also the rest of Thy Apostles in whatever country they may be.

And whilst she was praying, I, John, came, the Holy Spirit having snatched me up by a cloud from Ephesus and set me in the place where the Mother of my Lord was lying. And the Holy Mother of God glorified God, because I, John, had come to her, remembering the voice of the Lord saying: Behold thy Mother; behold thy son. [*Now follow long prayers of Mary and John*].[41]

And the Holy Spirit said to the Apostles: Let all of you together

[39] In the two Latin versions the angel brings to Mary a palm branch from paradise in token of her approaching end. In the second Latin version and one of the Greek versions Mary fears the hatred of the demon. She says to the angel: "I ask that no power of the lower world may withstand me in that hour in which my soul shall go out of my body, and that I may not see the prince of darkness." Lucius (p. 514) thinks that this is the older version of the legend and that the fear of the Jews was substituted for this apparently unbecoming and unnecessary fear of Satan.

[40] According to the Syrian version Mary leaves Jerusalem, because the Jews prosecute her and threaten to stone her. In the Arabian form of the legend King Abgar of Edessa reports the Jerusalemites to the Roman Emperor Tiberius, because they distress Mary. Tiberius menaces the Jews with torture and death, whereupon the procurator induces Mary to leave Jerusalem. All this seems to indicate that Mary did not spend her last days in the Holy City.

[41] In the two Latin recensions Bethlehem is not mentioned. According to the first, Mary lived at Jerusalem in the house of Joseph of Arimathea on Mount Sion. In one of the versions she died, not on Mount Sion, but at the house of John in the valley of Josaphat. In the first Latin version Mary reproaches John with many tears because he paid no heed to the command of Christ to take care of her. John asks pardon on bended knee. Then the Blessed Virgin gives him her benediction and kisses him.

having come by the clouds from the ends of the world, be assembled in holy Bethlehem by a whirlwind on account of the Mother of Jesus Christ, Peter from Rome, Paul from Tiberis, Thomas from Hither India, . . . Andrew and Philip, Luke, Simon, and Thaddeus who had fallen asleep were raised by the Holy Spirit out of their tombs. . . . And then by the Holy Spirit they all came together. [*Now follow long dialogues between Mary and the Apostles*].[42]

And when they had prayed there was thunder from heaven and a fearful voice came as if of chariots; and behold, a multitude of a host of angels and powers, and a voice as if of the Son of Man was heard, and the Seraphim in a circle around the house, so that all who were in Bethlehem beheld all the wonderful things and came to Jerusalem and reported all the wonderful things that had come to pass. And the sun and the moon suddenly appeared about the house; and an assembly of the first-born saints stood about the house. And everyone who was under disease and sickness, touching the outside of the wall of the house where she was lying, cried out; Holy Mary, who didst bring forth Christ our God, have mercy on us! And they were straightway cured.[43]

And the priests of the Jews, moved by the intensest hatred, directed their course to Bethlehem. When at the distance of one mile it came to pass that they beheld a frightful vision, and their feet were held fast; and after this they returned and reported all to the chief priests. And they, still more boiling with rage, go to the procurator, crying out and saying: The nation of the Jews has been ruined by this woman, drive her from Bethlehem. Accordingly, being compelled, he sends a tribune of the soldiers against the Apostles to Bethlehem.[44]

And the Holy Spirit says to the Apostles and the Mother of the Lord: Behold the procurator has sent a tribune against you. . . The Apostles, therefore, rose up immediately and went forth from the house, carrying the bed of Mary; and immediately being lifted up by a cloud, they were found in Jerusalem in the house of Our Lady. And they stood up and for five days made an increasing

[42] In the Arabian and the two Latin versions Thomas alone is absent. Also some of the disciples, Nicodemus, Mark, Luke, Dionysius, Hierotheus, and Maximinian, are carried on clouds to Mary's deathbed.

[43] In the Arabian form, women from Rome and Alexandria, daughters of princes and kings, come to Bethlehem, to hear and see Mary; they listen to her discourses. 2,080 sick people are miraculously cured by the prayer of Mary. No one, except her Divine Son, could enumerate the miracles she wrought during her stay at Bethlehem.

[44] In the Arabian legend the procurator sends 30,000 men on horse back and on foot to expel Mary from Bethlehem.

singing of praise. [When the tribune did not find Mary, he imprisoned the Bethlehemites]. And after five days it was known to the procurator and all the city that the Lord's Mother was in her own house in Jerusalem. And the Jews took wood and fire, wishing to burn Mary's house. And when they came to the door, suddenly a power of fire, coming forth from within, burnt up a great multitude of Jews. [And the procurator believed.] And while we were all praying there appeared innumerable multitudes of angels, and the Lord mounted upon Cherubim in great power.[45]

And the Lord remained beside her saying: Behold from the present time thy precious body will be transferred to paradise and thy holy soul to the heavens. . . . [Follows a long conversation between the Lord, Mary, and the Apostles]. And the Lord turned and said to Peter: The time has come to begin the singing of the hymn. And Peter, having begun the singing of the hymn, all the powers of the heavens responded with the Alleluja. And then the face of the Mother of God shone brighter than the light of the sun, and she rose up and blessed each of the apostles with her own hand. And the Lord stretched forth his undefiled hands and received her holy and blameless soul. And with the departure of her soul the place was filled with perfume and ineffable light, and behold, a voice out of heaven was heard saying: Blessed art thou among women.[46]

And Peter, and I, John, and Paul, and Thomas, ran and wrapped up her precious feet for the consecration. And the twelve apostles put her body upon a couch and carried it.[47]

And, while they were carrying her, a certain well-born Hebrew, Jephonias by name, running against the body, put his hands upon the couch; and behold, an angel of the Lord, by invisible power, with a sword of fire, cut off his two hands from his shoulders, and made them hang about the couch, lifted up in the air. And at this miracle all the people of the Jews cried out: Verily He that was brought forth by thee is the true God, O Mother of God, ever

[45] In the second Latin recension the fear of the demons which Mary showed at the apparition of the angel, reappears and she prays to her Divine Son: "Receive me and free me from the power of darkness that no onset of Satan may oppose me and that I may not see foul spirits standing in my way."

[46] In a Syrian fragment published by Wright, Mary does not die in her house, but by the command of the Holy Spirit she is carried still alive, to the valley of Josaphat, whence, apparently without having died, she is transported to heaven.

[47] In the second Latin version the Apostles sing the psalm, "In exitu Israel" on the way. 15.000 Jews accompany the funeral cortege and angels appear with great splendor singing sweet hymns of praise in honor of the holy Virgin.

Virgin Mary. And Jephonias himself, at Peter's command, stood up behind the couch and cried out: Holy Mary, have mercy upon me. And Peter turned and said to him: In the name of Him who was born of her, thy hands will be joined to thy body again. And forthwith the hands hanging by the couch of the Lady came and were re-attached to Jephonias. And he believed and glorified Christ.[48]

And when this miracle had been wrought, the Apostles carried the couch and laid down her precious body in Gethsemane in a new tomb. And, behold, a perfume of sweet savor arose from the holy sepulchre; and for three days the voices of invisible angles were heard glorifying Christ our Lord who had been born of her. And when the third day was ended the voices were heard no longer. And from that time forth all knew that her spotless and precious body had been transferred to paradise.[49]

[48] In the first Latin version the name of the Jew is Reuben; his hands are not cut off, but his arms shrivel up to the elbows and the man is unable to draw them back from the bier. In the second Latin recension it is the high priest himself who disturbs the funeral. Peter gives him the palm branch from paradise which John carries, and the converted high priest with the palm branch heals all the blind who believe in Christ. In the Arabian version the Jew's name is Juphia; in the second Syrian recension Jephunneh; Peter gives him his staff which sprouts forth green leaves; with this staff Jephunneh heals 5,000 blind men.

[49] Four of the MSS. give a different account of the burial. While the Apostles were going forth from the city of Jerusalem, carrying the couch, suddenly twelve clouds of light snatched them up with the body of Our Lady, and translated them to paradise.

According to a Syriac fragment of the fifth century (Wright), whilst the Apostles were sitting at the entrance to the tomb, the Lord appeared with St. Michael and 3,000 angels coming on three clouds, and they took the twelve Apostles and the body of Mary into the clouds and carried them to paradise, where at the tree of life the soul of Mary was reunited to her body.

In the Arabian text, Eve, Elizabeth, and Ann appear at the Sepulchre, then the patriarchs and prophets (in the Syrian form, Moses, Elias, Enoch) descend in fiery chariots and the holy angles in twelve other chariots; Mary dies in their presence and is taken up by them into heaven. Also in the Coptic versions our Lord and the saints come in fiery chariots.

In the second Latin recension St. Michael brings the soul of Mary from paradise and reunites it to the body in the grave, whereupon Mary rises and is taken into heaven.

In the Arabian and in the first Latin versions St. Thomas, without any fault of his own, comes late. Soaring through the air on a cloud he meets Mary, whilst she is being carried to heaven by the angels. Mary blesses him and gives him the girdle with which the Apostles had encircled her most holy body (this girdle is venerated in the Cathedral of Prato, Tuscany; feast, 2nd Sunday in July, d. majus). The Apostles reprove Thomas for not having been present at the death of Mary ("truly thou always hast been obdurate and unbelieving; because of thine unbelief it was not pleasing to God that thou shouldst be along with us at the burial of the Mother of the Saviour"). They open the tomb and find it empty; Thomas shows them the girdle, etc. Then they ascend to Mount Olivet, where Christ appears and consoles them.

This confused mass of fancies and contradictions, which spread like wildfire over the entire Church, especially in the Orient, cannot lay the least claim to historical truth. It may express the belief of Christendom in the fifth and sixth centuries that Mary died in the presence of the Apostles and that her tomb was found empty. Not even knowledge of the place where she died can be drawn with certainty from these accounts. The older forms do not mention any place at all; the valley of Josaphat is spoken of for the first time in the Arabic version, which is one of the most recent (ninth or tenth cent.).[50] This feature was introduced only after popular belief or the shrewdness of guides had connected one of the tombs in the valley with Mary.

We may ask the question: What may have caused these spiritual weeds to spring up so luxuriantly? 1. There were theological reasons; the corresponding dogmatic principles were familiar to the Fathers of the Church and to the faithful in general at a very early date. 2. The very fact that the tomb of Mary was nowhere found, that no church possessed her sacred body, whilst the relics of the martyrs and even of the patriarchs and prophets had been discovered and were venerated publicly, must have roused the imagination of the Orientals, who from the very beginning had produced all sorts of apocryphal legends. 3. There may have been some latent spark of an explicit Apostolic tradition which at present can no longer be traced. But the indisputable fact that nothing was known about the death of Mary in Jerusalem seems to exclude this surmise. 4. The Biblical accounts of the departure of Enoch and Elias, the apocryphal narratives of the assumption of Moses and the departure of St. John the Evangelist, must have led the minds of the people to compare these heroes with the Mother of God. If Enoch and Elias never saw death because they were holy men, why should Mary have died who was holier than any other saint? If St. John the Apostle was taken up bodily into heaven because of his virginity, how can we suppose that the body of the Virgin of virgins should be eaten up by the corruption of the tomb? Furthermore, the belief of the corporal assump-

[50] Bonnet, *Zeitschrift fuer wiss. Theologie*, 1880, p. 228.

tion of St. John had spread in the Church before the doctrine of Mary's Assumption had developed. Even Scheeben[51] thinks that the apocryphal accounts of the Falling Asleep of Mary are based partly on the older legend of the death and resurrection of St. John the Theologian.

4. THE APOCRYPHAL "TRANSITUS" AND THE ORIENTAL FATHERS.

It is easy to understand that the legend of the Falling Asleep of Mary should have invaded also the patristic literature of the Orient, where it originated.

We meet it first in a Syriac poem of Jacob of Sarug (d. 521), composed at Nisibis in the last years of the fifth century,[52] and in another poem of John of Birta[53] of about the same period. The Apostles are carried on the clouds to the bedside of Mary. Christ and the angels appear and receive the soul of Mary; Peter and John bury the body on Mt. Olivet (not Gethsemane); her tomb is unknown, like that of Moses. The two poets take no cognizance of the corporal assumption; either the legend had not yet fully developed, or they did not dare to repeat it.

At Jerusalem St. Modestus, patriarch of the Holy City (631-634), first ushered in officially the apocryphal *Transitus* in a sermon preached on the 15 August. Having ascertained that the writings of the Fathers give no information on the end of Mary, he very cautiously propounds to his hearers the contents of the apocryphon, omitting some of the most silly miracles; but he refuses to produce the report of the legend about the bodily assumption by saying: "How the Mother has been called back to life by Christ, who has raised her from the grave, is known to Him alone."[54]

The next author who is influenced by the legend is St. Andrew, Archbishop of Crete (d. 721), who had been a monk in the laura of St. Sabas near Jerusalem. Having searched the writings of the Fathers, he says, for information about

[51] *Dogm.*, III, 573.
[52] *Summa Mariana*, II, p. 782.
[53] *Oriens Christianus*, V, 82.
[54] *Patrol. G.*, 86, p. 3260; *Panagia Kap.*, 96 ff.

the death of Mary, he found only the above mentioned words of Pseudo-Dionysius. He proceeds to give the theological reasons why Mary was subject to death; he says that she died on Mount Sion and that her body was carried to Gethsemane, "where it was entombed for a short while only, because it was transferred very soon." With these vague words St. Andrew dismisses the question.[55]

Of paramount importance for the recognition of the apocryphon in the Orient was the fact that St. John of Damascus (d. before 754) gave credence to it. The Damascene is revered by the Greek Church as its greatest Doctor. No other master mind in the East after his time could at all compare with him. He delivered three homilies on the 15 August, the feast of Mary's Obdormition. In these discourses he represents the corporal Assumption of Mary as an ancient heirloom of the Catholic faith and declares that his sole purpose is to develop and establish, "what in a brief and almost too concise manner the son has inherited from the father according to the common saying."[56] In reality, however, the Damascene, to strengthen his theological arguments in favor of the Assumption, took up the apocrypha, omitted or modified their grotesque features and dressed up the story with florid Oriental rhetoric. At the bottom of all his sublime oratory there is nothing but the Apocryphon of St. John the Theologian. The great authority of the Damascene brought about a complete victory for the legend in the East. Before his time the ecclesiastical writers did not dare to teach the doctrine of the corporal Assumption plainly and unconditionally. After the age of the Damascene the legend was looked upon in the Eastern Church as part of the universal, Apostolic tradition.

5. THE APOCRYPHAL "TRANSITUS" AND THE WESTERN CHURCH.

The Latin Church has always been slow to open her doors to apocryphal legends. In the beginning of the sixth century, the second form of the Latin "Transitus," which alone

[55] *Patr. G.*, 97, 1051 ff.

[56] M. A. Allies, *St. John Damascene*, London, 1898, p. 147 ff.

was known in the West during the Middle Ages, was censured and prohibited by the so-called Gelasian decree.

An author belonging to the Gallic nation which has given to the Church so many new devotions, St. Gregory of Tours (d. 596), accepted the apocryphal "Transitus". In his book *de miraculis* (Lib. I, c. 4, *P. L.*, 71, p. 708) he writes: "When at length the Blessed Mary had fulfilled the course of this present life, and was to be called hence, all the Apostles were gathered together from several regions in her house. And as they learned that she was to be taken from this world, together they watched with her. When, behold, the Lord Jesus arrived with His angels, and, receiving her soul, committed it to the Archangel Michael, and thereupon withdrew. Then at daybreak the Apostles lifted the body with the couch, laid it in the sepulchre and watched by it, awaiting the coming of the Lord. And lo, the Lord stood by them again, and commanded the holy body to be taken up and borne on a cloud to paradise, where now united with the soul and rejoicing in company with the elect, it enjoys the good things of eternity which shall never come to an end." [57] Here we have the entire Oriental legend in a nutshell. St. Gregory gained his acquaintance with the apocryphon through a deacon who had visited the Holy Land.[58] The Venerable Bede reproached St. Gregory for having used the apocryphon which he calls a book full of contradictions, as a historical source.[59] In fact St. Gregory found no followers.

In the next succeeding centuries the doctrine was controverted in some quarters of the West. This opposition was doubtless in some measure due to the great influence of St. Jerome, on whom, in the first half of the eighth century, had been fathered the spurious epistle to Paula and Eustochium. This letter was for a long time believed to have been written by St. Jerome himself. The author, who was a deep theologian, writes: "If an apocryphal book, entitled 'De Transitu Virginis' should perchance come into your hands, you might take what is doubtful for certain, a work which

[57] Livius, op. cit., p. 360.
[58] *Gabrielovich, Ephèse ou Jérusalem*, Paris, 1897, p. 54.
[59] *Liber Retract. in Act. Apost.*, c. 8, *Patr. L.*, 92, 1014.

many Latins accept too readily, especially since nothing on the matter can be known as certain, except that to-day the Blessed Virgin departed in glory from her body. Her sepulchre, indeed, is shown, and we saw it ourselves not long ago in the midst of the valley of Josaphat. . . . I say so much because many of our friends are in doubt whether Mary was assumed together with her body, or departed leaving her body behind. But how, at what time, or by whom, her most holy body was thence taken away, or whither transferred, or whether she rose again is unknown; although some would affirm that she is already raised again to life and clothed with Christ in unchangeable bliss. This, too, a great many assert also of Blessed John the Evangelist. . . . Our best course, however, is to commit the whole matter to God, to whom nothing is impossible, rather than to wish to settle anything, rashly, by our own authority, whereof we should not approve." [60] The author of a homily on the Assumption of Mary, who wrote in the eighth century under the name of St. Augustine, warns his readers against the apocrypha; but to weaken the historical principles of Pseudo-Jerome, he, somewhat timidly, produces the dogmatical reasons: "That the most sacred body from which Christ assumed flesh . . . was given over to be food for worms—since I am unable to think it, I shudder to say it." [61] Even as late as the ninth century the aversion of the Latin Church against the apocrypha delayed the public and unreserved acknowledgment of the corporal Assumption. The Martyrology of Usuardus (written between 859 and 875) which was the martyrology of the Middle Ages, used also by the Church of Rome, contained the following rubric on 15 August: "The Dormition of Mary, the holy Mother of God: Although her most holy body is not found on this earth, still holy Mother Church celebrates her venerable memory in such a solemn manner, to show that she does not doubt that Mary died according to the condition of the flesh ("ut pro conditione carnis eam migrasse non dubitet")." Where, however, that venerable temple of the Holy Ghost, according to the Divine commission and counsel, is hidden, the good sense of

[60] *Ep. IX op. S. Hieronymi., P. L.*, 30, p. 122. Livius, op. cit., p. 375.
[61] *Opp. S. Augustini*, VI, p. 1150, App.

the Church prefers piously to ignore, rather than to hold or teach anything frivolous or apocryphal ("plus elegit sobrietas ecclesiae cum pietate nescire, quam aliquid frivolum et apocryphum inde tenendo docere").[62]

From the tenth century onward the Latin Church accepted the doctrine universally ("pie creditur," S. Thomas Aqu.), basing it purely on dogmatic reasons. But Gottschalk, a liturgical poet of the eleventh century (d. 1098), who wrote a very beautiful treatise on the Assumption of Mary, says: "Hanc vero resurgentium sanctorum coronam utrum tu, Mater gaudii, corpore et anima nunc habeas an expectes habendum, nos neque scimus, neque scire digni sumus, neque scire possumus, neque scire fas est carnalibus. . . . Potuit (Christus) inquam si voluit, immo fortassis voluit quia potuit. Non dicimus haec affirmando, sed, quae tibi optamus, exponendo."[63] Notker and Abelard refer to St. Gregory of Tours, Albert the Great to Pseudo-Dionysius; all the other writers repudiate the apocrypha.[64]

Commencing about the year 1465 a flood of legends, hitherto unknown, spread over Christendom. A frenzy of false mysticism seized clergy and laity. Objects and practices of devotion and places of pilgrimage were garnished with absurd stories of apparitions, revelations, and miracles; even men of eminent sanctity and great learning were drawn into this whirlpool of illusion. At that sad time, which prepared the way for the Reformation, the apocryphal account of Mary's Assumption also found ready admission in the West. Men like Trithemius, Abbot of Sponheim, and the Bl. Peter Canisius, S.J., ratified it and admitted it into their writings.[65] At that time also the apocryphal passages from the second homily of the Damascene, containing the "Euthymian History", were inserted in the Roman Breviary, where they still are found on 18 August. Benedict XIV intended to remove them, but his premature death frustrated his plans to reform the Breviary. In consequence of this acceptation of the apoc-

[62] *P. L.*, 124, 365 ff.

[63] Cf. Gottschalk, G. M. Dreves, Leipzig, 1897, pp. 98, 164 ff.

[64] *Zeitschrift für Kath. Theologie*, 1880, 598 ff. *Diction. de la Théologie Cath.*, 1903, Assomption de la Vièrge, 2127-2141,

[65] Scheeben, *Dogm.*, III, 587.

rypha the attacks on the historical proofs of the doctrine were renewed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Baronius wrote against these innovations in his Annals (ad a. 48). Tillemont, leaving aside the theological aspect of the question, wrote: "Neither the Fathers, nor ecclesiastical tradition, nor the monuments of history are favorable to the belief in the resuscitation of the Holy Virgin." [66] Nevertheless the apocryphal story at present is found in nearly every devotion book in speaking of the Death of Mary.

6. THE ASSUMPTION OF MARY IN THE LITURGY OF THE EASTERN CHURCH.

The feast of the 15 August is part of the ancient liturgical patrimony of the Eastern Church. About some of the feasts of Mary the Oriental Churches have quite interesting, although unreliable, traditions. The Jacobite Breviary, edited in the patriarchal monastery of Darez-Zaaferan near Mardin in Syria, 1900, in a hymn (p. 22) has the following: "The entire district of Ephesus dripped dew when St. John brought the writings of the Holy Virgin, wherein it is recorded that the memory of the most Blessed (Virgin Mary) shall be kept three times in the year: In January for the seeds, in May for the wheat harvest, in August for the grapes, since in these is represented the mystery of life." The same idea is expressed in the Syrian apocryphal account of the Departure of Our Lady,[67] from which, no doubt, the notice has found its way into the Jacobite Breviary.

The Arabian form of the "Transitus" (Enger, p. 101) relates: "The Apostles decreed that her [Mary's] commemoration should be kept on the second day after Christ's Nativity (26 Dec.); that the locusts hidden in the earth might perish and the wheat fields of the peasants might prosper; also on the 15 of the month of Aiar (May), for the crown of the year, on account of the birds and the black flies that they might not come forth from the earth to destroy the harvest and that men may not die of hunger. . . . Also her feast has been instituted for the 15 of the month Ab (August), which

[66] Tillemont, *Mémoires*, I, 499.
[67] *Journal of Sacred Literature*, VII, 152.

is the time when the fruit ripens on the trees." The Syrians (*ritus puri*) of to-day keep those three feasts of the Syrian legend, together with the Jacobites: 15 January (de Seminibus), 15 May (ad Aristas) and 15 August (Assumptionis, pro Vitibus). The Maronites celebrate them according to the Arabian Transitus: 26 December (Laudes B. Mariae V.), 15 May (de Spicis), 15 August (Assumption). After the introduction of the Roman feast of Christ's Nativity in the East (end of the fourth century), the feast of the 26 December was, before the time of St. Sophronius (d. 638), adopted by all the Oriental churches.[68] From the two apocryphal accounts we may draw these conclusions: 1. The three feasts, in January, May, and August were celebrated in the Syrian Church as early as the fifth century. 2. They do not commemorate certain events from the life of Mary, and are not connected with the oldest feasts of the ecclesiastical year. 3. They took the place of feasts of pagan nature-worship.[69] 4. We conclude that the feast of 15 August was kept in the Syriac Church before the Syrians had developed the legend of the Falling Asleep of Mary or her corporal Assumption.

Let us pass from Syria to Armenia. The Armenian Bishop Gregory Asharuni, who, about A. D. 690 compiled a commentary on the Jerusalem lectionary (which he ascribes to St. Cyril of Jerusalem, d. 386), used in the services of the Armenian Church, writes as follows: "Moreover, when the darkness of ignorance, the fog of idolatry, brooded thickly over the land, and kept glad holy day with reek of sacrifice and feasted on Navasard I Armazd and on the 15th (i. e., of Navasard) the lady Anahit and on Sahmi 7th they feasted Wahe Wahean, the gold finding, gold mother demon. . . . However, our Illuminator dispersed the gloom of idolatry,

[68] Nilles, *Kal. man. Utriusque Eccl.*, Oeniponte, 1896, II, p. 460 ff.

[69] Were they originally feasts of the Great Mother Kybele, the goddess of blooming nature and fertility? A remark of the Damascene in his second sermon seems to indicate that at his time the people on the 15 August observed customs which were remnants of a Kybele feast: It runs thus: "Let us then also keep solemn feast to-day to honor the joyful departure of God's Mother, not with flutes nor corybants, nor the orgies of Kybele, the mother of false gods, as they say, whom foolish people talk of as a fruitful mother of children, and truth as no mother at all. These are demons and false imaginings." Allies, *St. John Damascene*, p. 192.

and altered the festivals of familiar custom, and on Navasard I he ordered to be celebrated the feast of John the Baptist, and on the 15th [70] the Annunciation of the Theotokos; and on Sahmi 7th of John and Athenagenes." A similar passage is found in the Armenian menology, written about 1300: "To-day (15th Navasard) is the feast of the Holy Theotokos. Our Illuminator, St. Gregory, when he destroyed the female image of Anahit, the wife of Armazd, and abrogated her filthy feast, appointed and fixed in the church of Hayasdan on the same day the feast of the holy Lady Theotokos; in order that they might forget the abominable feast of filthiness, and glorify the Lord's Mother, Mariam, etc." [71] The calendar of the lectionary is assigned by Conybeare (p. 511) to the years between 464-468. This calendar on 15 August has this rubric: "15 August is the day of Mariam Theotokos. At the third milestone of Bethlehem is said Ps. 132:8 ('Arise, O Lord, into Thy resting place, Thou and the ark, which Thou hast sanctified'); Isaias 7:10-15 ('Behold, a virgin shall conceive and bear a son,' etc.); Gal. 3:29—4:7 ('when the fulness of the time was come, God sent his Son, made of a woman'); Alleluja; Ps. 110:1 ('The Lord said to my Lord; sit thou at my right-hand'); Luke 2:1-7, which is the Gospel of Christ's birth." [72]

The conclusions we draw are these: 1. Also in Armenia the feast of 15 August took the place of a pagan feast of nature-worship. 2. Although the Armenian tradition that it was instituted by St. Gregory in the beginning of the fourth century may be unreliable, it is anterior to the year 464. Since in Armenia the cult of Mary was developed out of an earlier cult of the Virgin Mother Church, no less than out of the cult of Anahit, we may well suppose that the feast was first established by the Catholikos Isaac I after 390, when the pagan worship was finally and permanently destroyed in Armenia (Hayasdan); the Armenian idea may have been to honor the

[70] Which corresponds to our 15 August.

[71] F. C. Conybeare, *Rituale Armenorum*, Oxford, 1905, p. 510.

[72] Armazd is the Armenian Jupiter; Anahit is Artemis, the goddess of Nature. Navasard is August, Sahmi is October; St. Gregory the Illuminator of Armenia died about 332.

heavenly aeon, the Church, rather than the physical Mother of Christ.[73] 3. The feast of 15 August was not a feast of the Assumption, but of the dignity of Mary as Mother of God, of "Mariam Theotokos," as one calendar says, the other (p. 527) of the "Annunciation of Theotokos." The lessons of the feast glorify the Motherhood of Mary and have no relation whatsoever to her death. 4. The station of the feast at Jerusalem was not the basilica at Gethsemane, but the church at the third milestone of Bethlehem, although both were probably built at the same time, shortly after the Council of Ephesus. Neither the feast, nor the basilica of Gethsemane, had originally any relation to the death or Assumption of Mary.

In the great monastery of St. Theodosius near Jerusalem, toward the end of the fifth century, a feast of Mary was celebrated and pilgrims came to assist at the solemn offices.[74] This was the Theotokos feast of the Jerusalem lectionary on 15 August. The Church at Antioch, between 512 and 518, kept a solemn memorial of the Mother of God in January.[75] This was the Syrian feast "B. M. V. de Seminibus" of 15 January.

The Church of Constantinople, which received the liturgical books and calendar from the monasteries of Palestine, celebrated a feast in honor of the Mother of God, before the Council of Ephesus; we have a sermon, preached on that festival (a. 429) by the presbyter Proclus, in presence of Nestorius, the Patriarch of Constantinople. (*Patr. Graec.* 65, 679 ff., 715 ff., 722 ff.; Lucius, op. cit., 484.) This must have been the Theotokos feast of the lectionary, 15 August. And this fact proves, 1. that the Syrian and Armenian tradition is right in assigning the origin of the feast to a date earlier than the Council of Ephesus; 2. that also at Constantinople the feast of 15 August was originally not a feast of the obdormition or Assumption of Mary.

From the testimony published by Conybeare it appears that

[73] For this peculiar connexion between Mary and the Church see the hymn for the dedication of a Church, Conybeare, op. cit., p. 21, also p. 511.

[74] *Vita S. Theodosii*, Bolland., Jan. 1, p. 590.

[75] *Römische Quartalschrift*, XI, p. 77.

of the original three Syriac feasts of Mary, in Jerusalem and Armenia, only the feast in August was adopted. By the Egyptians (Copts), however, the January feast was taken up and kept 21 January. The difference in the date is explained by the variations of chronology in ancient times; it was difficult to transpose a date of one calendar to the corresponding date of another calendar. At an unknown period (sixth century?), as the doctrine of the corporal Assumption deepened and grew in the Church under the influence of theological reasons and the apocrypha, the Eastern Churches connected with one of the existing feasts of the Mother of God the idea of her death and Assumption. In Syria, Palestine, and Armenia, the 15 August became the feast of the Falling Asleep of Mary, in Egypt and Abyssinia it was 21 January. As early as the seventh century the Copts and Abyssinians solemnized a commemoration of the Holy Virgin on the 21st of every month.[76] Especially in Abyssinia this monthly feast is kept with great pomp and several special festivities are connected with it throughout the year. Before the period, however, when the Coptic form of the apocryphal "Transitus" was written, the Christians in the valley of the Nile adopted from the universal Church the feast in August and keep it on the 16th. For many centuries they commemorated the death of Mary in January, her Assumption in August, believing that she remained in the tomb 206 days. Now they have changed the January feast into a commemoration of the Dedication of the first church in honor of Mary.[77]

The Byzantine historian Nikephoros Kallistu, relates that the Emperor Maurikios (582-602) issued a decree commanding that the Feast of the κοίμησις of Mary be kept in all the churches of the empire on 15 August. Although this information is given by a historian of a late date (Histor. eccl. 17, 28), it must not be altogether set aside. Maurikios may well have given official recognition to the festival and by so doing settled the question of the day when it was to be kept.

[76] Joh. Selden, *De Synedriis*, 3, c. 15, p. 204-247; Card. A. Mai, Nova Coll. veter. Script., IV, 15-34.

[77] Nilles, *Kalend. Utriusque Ecclesiae*, II, pp. 700 and 703. Personal letter from P. Baeteman C. M. of Aliekiena, Abyssinia, 8 Dec., 1908. Wuestenfeld, *Synaxarium der Kopt. Kirche*, 1879, p. 262.

7. THE ASSUMPTION OF MARY AND THE LITURGY OF THE LATIN CHURCH.

The oldest feast which the Roman Church kept in honor of Our Lady was the Theotokos feast of the Octave of 1 January. Its station was the Liberian Basilica (S. M. Maggiore), probably from the period of its reconstruction by Sixtus III after the Council of Ephesus and its dedication to the name of Mary. In the beginning of the seventh century the station of this feast, which to-day still bears the characteristics of a feast of Mary, was transferred to the Pantheon (S. M. ad Martyres).[78]

We have no information concerning the period when the Roman Church accepted from the Orient the feast of 15 August. All we know is that it was celebrated at Rome along with those of Our Lady s Nativity and Annunciation under Sergius I, in the year 689.[79] It is contained in the Gelasian Sacramentary; this fact points to the end of the sixth or the beginning of the seventh century, the pontificate of Gregory I, since the Gelasian Sacramentary represents the Roman liturgy of the seventh century. St. Gregory may have brought the feast to Rome from his visit at the court of Constantinople. It was first kept only at St. Maria Major, but also there it was originally only a feast of the Theotokos. The formulary of the Gelasian Mass does not mention the Death or Assumption of Mary.[80]

The feast is contained also in the Gregorian Sacramentary which represents the liturgy of Rome of the eighth to the ninth century. Although we have the Gregorian Sacramentary only in its gallicanized form and the Mass of the Assumption seems to be of Gallican origin, supplanting the original mass of the Gelasian Sacramentary, it is entirely free from apocryphal influences. The object of the feast is the Death and Assumption of Mary, which are expressly mentioned in the *Secreta* and in the procession prayer "Veneranda".[81] It was reserved to the sixteenth century to introduce the apocrypha into the Roman liturgy.

[78] Batiffol, *Histoire du Breviaire Romain*, p. 134.

[79] Probst, *Sacramentarien*, Muenster, 1892, p. 261 and 264.

[80] Probst, op. cit., 264 ff.

[81] See the Mass in Livius, op. cit., p. 363.

Whilst the Roman Church adopted the Syro-Grecian feast of August, the Church of Gaul inserted in her Calendar the Syro-Egyptian feast of January, which was probably due to the influence of John Cassian in the first half of the fifth century, who introduced many usages peculiar to the Egyptian monks into the monasteries founded by him in the south of Gaul.[82] The particular day of the feast in Gaul was 18 January, a variation of date (15 January, 21 January, 18 January) easily explained by the difficulties of chronology. This feast is first mentioned by St. Gregory of Tours in the sixth century. He writes: "The feast is celebrated in the middle of the eleventh month (i. e. January). Now there are relics of Our Lady kept in the Oratory of Marsac (Clermont in the territory of Avernum)." Then he relates a miracle which he witnessed there during the vigil of the feast.[83] St. Gregory does not say that the object of this feast was the Assumption of Mary. The documents of the Gallican Liturgy, however, prove that originally also in Gaul this January feast was a commemoration of the Maternity of Mary, and was, as elsewhere, later on changed into a feast of the Assumption. Mabillon has published a seventh-century lectionary from Luxeuil which contains the lessons—*In festivitate S. Mariae,* after the 2nd Epiphany Sunday. The Epistle is de Virginibus, 1 Cor. 7:25-40; the Gospel of the Visitation.[84] Muratori edited the Gallican Sacramentary of Bobbio, which has two masses in January in honor of Mary. The first bears the inscription: *In S. Mariae Solemnitate.* The Gospel relates the Finding of Jesus in the Temple; the lengthy prayers celebrate the dignity of the Mother of God, i. e. her Maternity, but not a word of her death or Assumption. The second mass: *In Assumptione S. Mariae* (Gospel of Mary and Martha), in all its prayers treats of the death and bodily Assumption of Mary, on the basis of the apocryphal "Transitus" ("cui Apostoli sacrum reddunt obsequium, Angeli cantum, Christus amplexum, nubis vehiculum, assumptio paradisum").[85] Evidently the first is the older mass composed for the original

[82] Baeumer, *Geschichte des Breviers,* p. 96 ff.
[83] *P. L.,* 21, p. 713, *De Miraculis,* c. 9.
[84] *P. L.,* 72, 180.
[85] *P. L.,* 72, 474 ff.

feast of the Theotokos; the author of the second mass was laboring under the influence of the apocryphal account of St. Gregory of Tours. The first mass was, through liturgical conservatism, retained in the Sacramentary after it had been discarded and put out of use. In the Gothico-Gallican Missal, edited by Mabillon,[86] the new conception of the feast and the apocrypha are in full possession. Under the title *Depositio* or *Pausatio S. Mariae* the feast is found, 18 January, in some forms of the Martyrology ascribed to St. Jerome, in the gallicanized Martyrologies of Lucca, Corvey, etc. It seems, however, that the Visigoths of Spain always kept the feast on 15 August, although their liturgy had come to them from the south of Gaul. The mass of the Gothico-Mozarabic Missal is entirely free from apocryphal influence; the long meditative prayers are based on purely dogmatical grounds. When Charlemagne substituted the Roman liturgy for the Gallican rite in France, the feast of the Assumption was transferred to 15 August, which has since, for one thousand years, remained the date accepted by the entire Church.

II. The Dogmatical Arguments.

1. Mary's Death.

That Mary died is a universal belief in the Church, although it cannot be proved convincingly either from history or revelation. Death is a punishment for sin; but Mary was exempted from original sin, therefore also from its penalty, Death. Again, her death cannot be proved as a consequence of her mortal nature, for in her case the claim of nature is superseded by a supernatural claim to immortality, resting upon her Divine Motherhood. But because Christ died, it was fitting that Mary should also die, lest the Mother be thought privileged above her Son. Mary, then, died because Jesus died; but her death, being neither expiatory nor penal, nor yet the effect of disease, was probably painless. Since the Middle Ages the belief prevails that she died of love, her great desire to be united to her Son dissolving the ties of body and soul.

[86] *P. L.*, 72, 225 ff.

2. THE INCORRUPTIBILITY OF MARY'S BODY.

Death is an evil not degrading in itself; under certain circumstances it is even honorable. Corruption of the body, on the contrary, is of itself associated with the notion of dishonor. Hence corruption of the body is incompatible with the dignity and position of Mary, the Mother of God. The body of the Mother of Christ and the Bride of the Holy Ghost could not fall a prey to vile corruption. The Fathers love to connect Mary's incorruption after death with her virginal integrity during life.[87] As the virginal body of Christ could not decay in the tomb, so too the body of His inviolate Virgin-Mother could not be subject to putrefaction;—that body which by a special privilege was not a *corpus peccati* and consequently not *corpus mortis*.

3. THE BODILY ASSUMPTION OF MARY.

Having demonstrated that it would be absurd not to admit the incorruptibility of Mary's body, we arrive at the Assumption of her body into heaven by a short step. To the ecclesiastical writers the incorruptibility of her body and its speedy resurrection are correlative ideas. If the separation of her body and soul had lasted for weeks or months, or even years, this would have meant a victory of death quite as much as the decay of the body. If Mary in conformity with her Divine Son was to pay the penalty of death, her dignity as Mother of God and ever Virgin demanded that her body should be resuscitated within a short period and taken up into heaven. If amongst the proofs for the Immaculate Conception of Mary the theologians have admitted the syllogism of Duns Scotus —*Decuit, potuit, ergo fecit*—the reasons of decency for the Assumption are so weighty that we are justified in expecting the miracle of the Assumption from the Omnipotence of God.

That in reality the sacred body of Mary was, in the first centuries at least, *in confuso* believed to be no longer on earth, is confirmed by the fact that, notwithstanding the well-known cultus of the martyr's relics from the earliest times, no desire or curiosity was evinced to obtain the relics of Mary (except in the awkward fabrication called the "Euthymian His-

[87] Scheeben-Wilhelm-Scannell, II, pp. 218 ff.

tory"), nor was there even any anxiety to ascertain where her body might be found. And whereas the Church has uniformly claimed to possess relics of the bodies of almost every other Saint of the Apostolic age, nowhere has it been alleged that there existed any corporal relic of the Blessed Virgin.

Not a few eminent theologians, of recent date especially, maintain that the Catholic truth of Our Lady's integral Assumption is proximately definable, not only as being contained implicitly in the revealed deposit, but also because its scientific development is fully accepted and sanctioned by the Church's authentic magisterium, and the doctrine has the consentient belief of all the faithful, at the present time, and has had the same adhesion for many centuries past.[88]

F. G. HOLWECK.

St. Louis, Mo.

APOLOGETICS FOR THE COMMON MAN.

I.

THE professional Catholic apologist of to-day has before him an almost superhuman task; one, indeed, that he cannot hope to perform without strenuous toil, undying patience, and, above all, light from on high; a task truly appalling in its magnitude, bewildering in the vast mass of detail that demands attention, exorbitant in its calls upon time and self-devotion. The professional apologist, then, must be an expert. He must specialize, not only in Philosophy and Sacred Theology—though first and foremost in these—but also in some branch or branches of the many-sided physical science of the day, which, despite many professions of neutrality and of prescinding altogether from questions of religion, loses no opportunity of attacking religious belief, not merely in its details, but at its very basis. And indeed, even if it would, science can never remain isolated upon a plane wholly separated from that occupied by religion. For physical investigation cannot escape metaphysics, and metaphysical enquiries essentially involve the great questions of man's origin

[88] Livius, *The B. V. in the Fathers*, p. 366.

and final destiny. Thus our faith has to face not physical science alone, but philosophies which would give an altogether different account of the meaning and end of human life from that which universal tradition has delivered to us, and Catholic Faith has illumined with a supernatural light. Many hands must be put to the defence; and we can scarce imagine even a modern St. Thomas Aquinas summing up in the writings of one short life-time all that philosophy, science, and theology have to say upon the world, upon God and man, and the dealings of the Creator with His creatures. "We want a new treatise 'De Anima'," writes Fr. Joseph Rickaby, in his English version of the *Summa Contra Gentiles*,[1] "to be written by some 'Aquinas Modernus', who shall be at once a profound Aristotelian and an expert biologist, and shall consecrate his life to this one study of soul".

But this is only one portion of the vast territory that has to be covered; and many laborers, each in his own place, must work at the appointed task.

But what of the common man? What of those of us also who, without expert knowledge in any high degree, are yet bound to keep as nearly as we can in touch with modern problems and difficulties, that we may have something to say to those who come to us for help?

For those problems and difficulties soon reach the crowd, and are put to the people in their ugliest form, with anti-religious conclusions ready drawn out and presented as if unanswerable and decisive of the question. Not all can be specialists; yet apologists we all are bound to be in some measure, under pain of resigning ourselves to ineptitude in the face of the enemy. But this means loss of souls to God and His Church; for, although a strong faith and that common-sense philosophy which has its roots in human nature itself happily save great multitudes from capture by the specious arguments of unbelieving theorizers, yet increasing numbers, we must fear, are deceived to their grievous hurt. Each, then, in his place is bound to do something, and to do that something well; qualifying himself to meet the needs that arise about him, and to bring to the knowledge of

[1] P. 168, note.

others what has been said on the side of truth and right by those whose task it is to take the lead.

Physical science and anti-Christian philosophies have their popular apologetic in great abundance, by means of which the discoveries of scientists and the world-theories of modern philosophers are quickly made known and spread abroad. Did the purveyors of popular science content themselves with registering ascertained results, we should have nothing to fear on that score; but too often they go far beyond the original investigators in deducing consequences hostile to religious truth, and in attributing the character of demonstrated certitude to what are only more or less probable theories. What is to be said on the other side is calmly ignored; and there is none of that patient waiting till apparent contradiction shall be reconciled, which is the mark of a truly scientific mind. Such popular writers have none of the modesty that has characterized the greatest minds in science, nor do they appear to learn it as time goes on from those rapid changes of ground in the scientific explanation of the world and of history which a few years will often witness. Their readers, more excusably, though not less wrongly, are ever ready, in spite of all experience, to take up the last word of their informants as the final and irrevocable verdict of those who *know*.

The Catholic religion, also, must have its popular apologetic; based, indeed, always on unchanging ancient truth, but so adapted as to meet the special needs of every period. This is a necessity, and one which at the present time is being met nobly and efficiently. The great and precious gift of a simple, child-like faith, so deeply embedded in the hearts of our people, must have thrown about it strong defences against the insidious assaults that are so determinedly and continually made in the name of modern enlightenment. It must be shown to Catholics how they are *right* in having simple and child-like faith in the teachings of their great Mother the Church; that they are right, moreover, in holding to that elementary common-sense philosophy to which the Church herself has ever clung, and which has its proofs in the spontaneous natural reasonings of that intelligence given by God to all men alike for their constant guide. It would be well if no such necessity existed; but exist it does. The public press, popular novels,

magazine articles and stories are so full of the current thought of the day that no one can wholly escape its influence; and this thought, now as always, is not long in finding its way even into the very language that men daily speak. The inevitable infection of morals has followed, and a number of novel-writers—chiefly women, it would seem—are carrying out the materialistic speculations of the age in the immoral principles and conduct attributed to their heroes and heroines. These novels are essentially books "with a purpose", and a truly pernicious purpose. They do not merely narrate evil doings in the good old way so as to show their evil consequences and inspire the reader with a wholesome disgust for the ways of vice and crime. On the contrary, they boldly present the sins of their characters as in reality no sins at all, but reasonable and justifiable actions, inspired by a sensible and courageous revolt against what the authors are pleased to term the artificial conventions of society. It may be hoped that most people at present would shrink from adopting such immoral falsehood as the standard of their own lives; yet there can be no doubt that works of the kind referred to are widely read for motives of curiosity and a desire to look, at least, upon forbidden fruit. When entrance has been thus effected by appeal to a very weak spot in human nature, the breaking down of principle is sure in time to follow if the pestilence be not stayed. It is already discernible, moreover, that the loose views cunningly presented in a setting of romantic glamor by certain writers of fiction are gradually creeping into newspapers and journals, there to reach a far larger circle of readers and so to spread the evil far and wide

Thus, although for very many, as we have said, the principles of faith and the dictates of conscience and sound sense suffice to render them secure in the truth, very much damage undeniably is being done by the infiltration of materialistic or at least un-Christian science and philosophy amongst the rank and file of the people; and even those who have no predisposition to unbelief and immorality may often unawares imbibe notions of the most misleading character, that will take off the keen edge from their faith, if they do not prove a complete dissolvent of all religious belief whatsoever, and as a consequence will do equal harm to moral life and conduct.

The danger is but too real. Few priests, probably, have not to lament sad defections, plainly due to the tendencies of modern thought, with its purely mechanical view of the universe, logically issuing in un-religious ethics and a theory of human society without God, or at best offering some vague and nerveless substitute for faith in an Almighty Creator and Providence, wherewith to delude those who would fain keep some kind of religion after they have thrown over all that gives religion its value as the highest form of truth.

There is, in fact, no department of study and investigation which is not now made plausibly to tell against Christian faith. Physics, History, Psychology, the development of Religion itself in the life-story of the human race—all these are forced to contribute their part to the attack upon supernatural revelation; while those philosophers who still profess to value metaphysics as a mode of truth-seeking have gone astray into such strange vagaries of thought as to destroy all confidence in the power of human reason to attain anything of truth but the merest shreds and tatters.

Nor do the "New Theology" and Modernism, with their Pantheistic tendencies and denial of an objective revelation, succeed in their attempt to make peace between Religion and the extreme section of the modern "scientific" school. Cutting away from Christianity its historical foundations, leveling revelation to a vague and merely subjective impulse from the unknown and unknowable Divinity within man; putting aside, moreover, that clear distinction between the Creator and His creatures upon which orthodox Christianity has ever strongly insisted as upon a matter of life and death, and introducing a kind of sovereignty of the people into the sphere of faith and morals, these newest theories of religion have but made confusion worse confounded; nor can we look to them for any efficient aid in the face of the problems of the hour. The fact that Modernism has been championed, unfortunately, by men formerly eminent in the Catholic world, counting amongst them scholars, masters of a winning style, writers peculiarly able in putting forth suggestive thoughts that carry people further than they seemed at first to tend, has made all the more necessary the education of the faithful at large in the ancient traditional truth and its historical and rational defences.

It is impossible for most lay persons, and for very many busy priests, to enter into a detailed study of all those sciences the actual or alleged conclusions of which are made to do duty as weapons against the Christian and Catholic Religion. It is as much as most can do to keep themselves barely informed of the latest theories, and of their real or supposed bearing upon questions of faith.

It is necessary, therefore, that we Catholics should have a firm grasp of the root principles of our religion, and of that sane philosophy which it presupposes; that we should have in hand a ready weapon which may be turned in every direction to meet attack at any point: in other words, we need to have, in convenient form, a broad system of Catholic apologetic, not dealing with the minutiae which occupy the attention of experts, but affording a standing-ground whereon the ordinary Catholic may take up his position without fear of dislodgment. Far be it from the present writer to suggest that this is a new idea; or that this popular apologetic is not now, at least, forthcoming in abundance. Nevertheless, in the bewildering variety of present problems, and with the ever-present danger of well-meant but mistaken attempts to reconcile modern "mentality", as it is sometimes called, with ancient truth—a mixing of oil and water which will never give a homogeneous result—it may not be amiss again to draw attention to the subject, and to indicate roughly the lines upon which such an apologetic must be constructed.

It may be objected that it is impossible to reduce the defence of the Catholic Religion to the compass of a general system available for the ordinary mind; that apologetics to-day are concerned with the careful investigation of special facts or theories; that the only thing for the common man to do is to shut his eyes and trust to the experts to make things right. But, unfortunately, the common man very soon hears all about the facts or theories that are supposed to abolish the "superstitions" of the past; and he needs some kind of answer to them. Moreover, I would reply to these objections by pointing out that, multitudinous as are the details with which modern research deals, and many as are in consequence the points of debate with which the professional apologist is concerned, yet, after all, the Catholic system *is* a broad

human system, in which Divine Revelation does not destroy, but builds upon the teachings of right reason; that, therefore, by making our people well acquainted with the fundamentals of their religion and its eminently common-sense philosophy, and clearly showing to them both the irrefutable truths of reason and the undeniable facts of history which form the rational justification of faith, we shall be supplying them with an impregnable line of defence upon which to fall back when a dangerous assault is made from some unexpected quarter.

To illustrate my meaning, let me take the case of the supposed production of living from non-living matter by artificial means, which Mr. Butler Burke not long since was thought to have accomplished. This undoubtedly gave a shock to the religious sensibilities of many at the moment. The famous experiments by Pasteur and others which had been held to constitute so unanswerable a proof of the impossibility of abiogenesis seemed to have been discredited. No longer, it seemed, could we appeal to the dictum of Alfred Russel Wallace—co-inventor with Darwin of the theory of Natural Selection—to the effect that life, and the spiritual faculties of man's nature, demand the intervention of a Creator to account for them; for life, at least, appeared to have been now successfully evolved from non-living matter. But, even had it not been denied afterward by Mr. Butler Burke himself that his experiments issued in the result at first attributed to them, no Catholic need have been disturbed. Apart from the fact that spontaneous generation was universally accepted up to the middle of the seventeenth century in certain cases, such as that of the appearance of worms or insects in putrefying dead matter; and that the idea suggested no difficulty concerning the Creator to the minds of the most orthodox,[2] no Catholic would have felt alarm who had a grasp of those elementary and inevitable processes of natural reasoning by which are established the necessity of an Intelligent and Personal First Cause to account for all things that are,

[2] It is said, indeed, that Francesco Redi, the first to proclaim the doctrine of biogenesis, was even accused of controverting Scripture, because of the history of the bees that were supposed to have been spontaneously generated in the carcass of the lion. Judges 14:8. Chambers's *Encyclopedia*, Art. Spontaneous Generation.

and the impassable nature of the chasm that separates the rational life of man from the irrational existence of other living creatures. Even though holding personally, as one supposes most people still to hold, that the spontaneous passage from inanimate matter to living organism never has been and never will be made, any well-informed Catholic would have recognized that, utterly improbable though it is, the verification of the theory of abiogenesis would never render less than wholly impossible either the first origin of life apart from a Creator —in whatever way the Creator might be held to have worked —or the introduction of *rational* life into creation without the direct intervention of an Intelligent and Personal God.

It remains now briefly to indicate what with all due diffidence the present writer would suggest as the character of that popular apologetic to which we should direct the attention of our Catholic people. It is to be found in greater abundance now than formerly in those manuals which are provided for clerical students. Until lately it could be justly said that works in English dealing with the subject were scarce. That reproach is being rapidly taken away. A great apologetic literature of a popular nature has grown up in France, and it must be conceded, I think, that the English-speaking peoples are still behind French Catholics in this matter. There is room, for instance, for a periodical in English devoted to apologetics similar to the excellent *Revue Pratique d'Apologétique* commenced in 1905, and issued every fortnight by Messrs. Beauchesne and Company of Paris. This review is indeed "practical", is "up-to-date", and scrupulously orthodox, whilst avoiding that too reactionary attitude which would fain be more Papal than the Pope, and more orthodox than the Church, despite the warnings of history, which has shown us more than once the phenomenon of heresy arising from the obstinate attachment to the "letter that killeth", and accusing both Pope and Church of countenancing novelty when they were in truth exercising their Divinely-given commission in the explication of the doctrine delivered to the saints. The Catholic Truth Society of London, England, has done work of incalculable value in the matter under discussion. The series of manuals for Catholic priests and students published by Messrs. Longmans under the title of

"The Westminster Library", and that published by Messrs. Sands & Co., in England, and Messrs. Herder of St. Louis, entitled "Expository Essays in Christian Philosophy", as well as the excellent "Westminster Lectures" that have aroused keen attention amongst non-Catholics of various sections, may all be mentioned as instances of the growth of that popular apologetic which is now so necessary.

It must not be forgotten that the people whom this apologetic has to reach vary very considerably in education, and consequently in regard to the difficulties which they feel concerning the Catholic and Christian Religion. One instance of the good which comes out of evil is to be found in the fact that the modern attacks upon faith have brought out with increasing clearness the truth that real Christianity is synonymous with Catholicism. As systems, the non-Catholic religions have largely failed to meet the objections brought against divine revelation. Their vacillating policy, their weak concessions to the enemy, have contrasted very unfavorably for them with the firm stand ever maintained by the Church Catholic. When Pius X condemned Modernism, it was widely recognized by those not of the fold that he stood forth as the champion of the very foundations of Christianity. Thus the proverb has been verified that it is an ill wind that blows nobody any good. The apologetic literature to which I have drawn attention is calculated to meet the wants of many classes. It ranges from the simplest treatment of the truths of religion up to that which will be of value to persons of considerable education. It will be necessary, probably for a long time, to supply answers to those strange and unexpected difficulties which so frequently meet a missionary priest in his daily intercourse with those amongst whom his lot is cast. It is disheartening to a young man, just home perhaps from Rome, or from some Catholic University, primed with all the wisdom of the schools, to find that he has to meet absurd questions about Maria Monk, or "Bloody Mary", or the alleged wickedness of conventual and monastic establishments; about permissions to sin upon payment of a "consideration", or concerning confession as a merely formal cancelling of old scores that have been run up with an expectation of complete immunity in view of the weekly or monthly squaring of ac-

counts with the priest. Purgatory, Indulgences, Celibacy, the use of vestments, "empty ceremonies", the supposed prohibition of Bible-reading, the imagined position of the priest as a barrier set up between God and individual souls—all these still afford scope for the most absurd misunderstandings and misrepresentation. But, speaking generally, we may say that the spread of education, the increased intercourse between Catholics and their fellow-citizens, and the very nature of modern problems have lifted religious controversy above the level of former days. There are, indeed, difficulties, more common and less trivial than those just referred to, which still seem very real to some minds, and need serious attention. Bad Popes, historical events like the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, or the doings of the Spanish Inquisition; the use of Latin in the Liturgy, the misapprehension of the real meaning of Papal Infallibility—to instance a few out of many—all require careful treatment. But the main battle does not now rage about these points, concerning which Catholics need education less for their own sakes than for the sake of others whom they may help; the real warfare centres round great fundamental questions concerning which the faithful need to be fortified, lest they themselves fall under the fatal influence of doubt and scepticism.

In laying the foundations of a compact system of popular theology—for the scheme suggested in this paper would be nothing less; nor need the name indicate those portions of theological science which are the exclusive province of professed theologians—there can be no doubt that active practical religion must receive its full share of attention. True and solid piety must go hand in hand with the study of religion on its intellectual side. To say this is in no way to depart from that principle to which the Church has always held with tenacity; namely, that there *is* a complete intellectual and historical justification for faith. Grace does not destroy, but perfects nature; and the man who is in God's grace will perceive intellectual truth the more readily and clearly for it. Actual grace also has its part in enlightening the mind of the enquirer who is a man of good will. As a general rule, then, the religious man will also be the most truly scientific in religious enquiry.

All will recollect the importance placed by Cardinal Newman upon sound moral character as an indispensable guide to religious truth. It is possible for a bad man to take an interest in Christianity from the intellectual point of view, and to appreciate its arguments; but without carrying Christianity into practice he is not likely to do much good to himself or to others; nor could his faith be expected to survive an attack from the intellectual side when seconded—as is usually the case in instances of apostasy—by the assaults of passion or self-interest. However necessary it may be that theological treatises for ecclesiastics should be written in strictly scientific and intellectual form for the purpose of professional education, it seems to the present writer that an appeal to the moral nature of men should run through works of popular apologetic. Mere moral declamation, in truth, will not suffice as a substitute for clear argument; but argument need be no less clear for including what theologians have termed the "affective" element. It does not detract from the cogency of those proofs which are adduced for the existence of God, that the author or speaker who presents them should add a word upon God's Fatherhood and Love, or contrasts the lot of man as a unit in some great evolution-machine with his position as the dear child of a personal and loving Creator. The intelligence, indeed, must first be reached, but the heart must also be touched if truth is to energize and save and make men free. Surely the force of Cardinal Newman's apologetic work is due not only to the inimitable clearness of his style, and the intellectual keenness of his presentment of the case, but also, and in the highest degree, to that constant appeal to the heart which accompanies all that he addresses to the mind.

For Catholics, the safeguarding of whom in the face of attack is the chief subject of consideration in this paper—although their influence over others is also to be kept in mind—it seems to the writer that a somewhat full and very clear exposition of the nature and position of the Church of God as the "Pillar and Ground of the Truth" is the very best intellectual foundation that can be laid. We have not to begin by proving to Catholics that God exists. Certainly they must be supplied with arguments that will turn the point of mater-

ialistic objections and shield them against the plausible atheism or disguised pantheism which permeates popular literature; but a keen appreciation of the glory and beauty of the living Church, a view of the general current of her great history, with its consistent witness to truth, its evidence of the universal adaptability of that truth to the needs of men in every age and place; a realization that in a great teaching Church is to be found the only method consonant with man's own nature by which true religion can be effectively imparted and preserved; and that, as the Vatican Council has declared, she herself constitutes a standing proof of her supernatural origin and a witness to God and to the unseen,[3] will be found the most efficient antidote to the poison of error. One well-grounded in the Catholic Doctrine concerning the Church; one especially who has been led to look at the Church as a great actuality in which that doctrine ceases to be merely theoretical, and is seen in working order, will have a standpoint from which he can look forth with patience and calmness upon the tossing waves of controversy, and a set of principles that will enable him to wait not only with patience, but with unswerving confidence for the ultimate solution of such questions as are still in process of being thrashed out. He will realize that the Church has gone through many a great crisis of doctrinal war, and has ever emerged triumphant over difficulties and perplexities, vanquishing, with her living deposit of truth, the disintegrating and dissolving forces of error.

With the Catholic Doctrine concerning the Church of God is intimately bound up that of the nature of Divine Revelation, of which the Church is the sole accredited organ. In the question of Revelation, also, is involved the relation of the Bible to the Church. It is especially necessary in our day that a Catholic should be clear as to the twofold source of Divine teaching which the Catholic Church has at her disposal; of which, moreover, she alone is the authorized exponent and interpreter. I refer, of course, to the Church's own Divine tradition, and to the written revelation that we have in the Sacred Scriptures.

[3] Cf. Vat. Conc., Constit. De fide Catholica.

Because of the long controversy with Protestantism, which made necessary a constant appeal to Holy Scripture as the only way of convincing those who, still retaining their belief in its inspiration, had thrown over the authority of the Church; as a result, too, of modern criticism, which has again concentrated the attention of multitudes upon the Bible, Catholics have been tempted, perhaps, to forget in part that the Bible is useless for the purpose of constructing a system of religious belief apart from the Church, and insufficient, in some cases, satisfactorily to prove individual doctrines without the Church's constant and living Tradition. "The Bible and the Bible only" will scarcely prove, for instance, the doctrine of Indulgences. Many of the fundamental dogmas of the Catholic Faith would fare ill in controversy did they depend solely upon the written Word. Yet there is a tendency amongst Catholics sometimes to be disturbed if they cannot answer the Protestant demand to bring full and clear proof of every Catholic doctrine from the pages of Holy Writ. It must be made plain to them that the Almighty did not intend men to learn their religion only from a Book, even though that Book is inspired and the very Word of God. When the true relationship between Church and Bible is well understood, the sting is thereby extracted from those difficulties which modern criticism has raised.

It is true that here we tread upon a path beset with dangerous pitfalls; and all care must be used to avoid belittling the Sacred Scriptures as a support of Catholic Dogma. We may not, with the Modernist, reduce the statements of Holy Writ to the position of mere formulations of the subjective spiritual experiences of the writers, nor deny the solid historical basis which the Gospels and the rest of the New Testament give to Christian Catholic belief. We have, with the Church, to take the middle way between the two extremes of exclusive reliance upon Scripture to the detriment of Tradition, and the Modernist supposition of so great a change in the ideas of the first generation of Christians that no one but those latest of heretics can find any visible connexion between the few elementary notions which Modernists will admit to be found in the New Testament, and the body of doctrine demonstrably held by the faithful of the first centuries. In truth, though

we may legitimately appeal to the Gospels and Epistles as genuine historical documents, and find in them, even prescinding from their inspired character, a sufficient witness of the facts of our Blessed Lord's life, and of the foundation and marks of the true Church, we must not carry that process of prescinding too far. Having laid the historical foundations which Modernism so ruthlessly would cut away, we must thenceforth read Scripture in the light of the Church's living and continuous teaching. To quote from a recent Pastoral Letter of one of the Bishops of England:[4] "Jesus Christ Himself we Catholics, at least, know only through the Church. Her tradition, like Mary's, is the memory, treasured in her heart and cherished by the Brooding Spirit, of His Personality and Work. She knows 'Christ crucified', and knows Him thoroughly. She pretends to no other knowledge, but of this she claims a monopoly. Even the Gospels yield no true image of Him apart from her. They are themselves imbedded in her tradition, and her teaching is the only authentic commentary upon them. Therefore all attempts to reconstruct a portrait of her Master different from hers are foredoomed to failure, and those who make such attempts are too often guilty of 'vain babbling', of 'profane novelties', and of 'oppositions of knowledge falsely so called'."

In this sense did St. Augustine declare that he could not believe in the Gospels apart from the testimony of the Church Catholic. To the Church, indeed, the Gospels and the whole of the New Testament belong. The sacred writings of the New Law grew up in her bosom. In a true sense they are the first written records of her Tradition; differing, indeed, from later written witnesses to that same Tradition in the important fact that they are Divinely-inspired, and hence immeasurably superior to all Christian writings that followed them. But they, too, came forth as witnesses to facts and doctrines already known to the Church and taught by her in her daily preaching. The Church herself was organized and at work for some thirty years, probably, before a line of the New Testament was written. To her also, by inheritance, equally

[4] The Right Rev. F. W. Keating, Bishop of Northampton: Lenten Pastoral, 1909.

belong the Scriptures of the Old Law. It was hers to take them too, and, as being in herself the embodiment of that fulfilment of the Law which Christ came to preach and to accomplish, to interpret them in accordance with that relation which they bear to her as type to anti-type, as shadow to substance, as prophecy to its fulfilment.

Never must we lose sight of the divinely established harmony that exists between Holy Scripture and the Church; a harmony in which the two give mutual support to one another. We might even say that the Church is more necessary to Scripture than Scripture is to the Church, but that it is better to take both as gifts from God, and therefore both necessary and both together affording irrefutable testimony to the Truth. This much we can and must say and insist upon—that the true relation of the Church to Scripture, and of her living Tradition to the written Word, involves her sole right, as it does her sole competency, to say what Scripture means.

We may not demand, indeed, nor is it necessary, that the Church should at once come forward with a solution to every difficulty that is brought forward. To ask this would be evidence of an impatient mind. God's Providence, using human instruments in His work of enlightening the Church, does not over-ride their human and natural mode of action. Hence time is necessary for the Church to come to her authoritative decisions. But when and where those decisions are needed, in good time they will come; and the loyal Catholic will bide the Church's time, serenely confident in those principles which have here been roughly sketched, and conscious that never, till the end of the world, shall fail the voice of the Holy Spirit speaking through the Pastors whom He has put to rule, to guide, and to teach in the House of God.

[To be continued.]

H. G. Hughes.

Norwich, England.

LET US MAKE TIME FOR THE STUDY OF POSITIVE THEOLOGY.

AMONG the questions that, just now, appeal to the ecclesiastical educator, there is none more comprehensive in its practical results than that of determining a suitable course of studies in our major seminaries. It is a question fraught with interest, not only to the present generation, but to those of the future for whom God is even now preparing the saving means of grace through the ministry of His priests. "Go teach all nations" is indeed a Divine message which gives them authority to speak in His name; but the fulfillment of that command presupposes in them a wealth of knowledge, not infused from above, but acquired by long and patient study. It is necessary, then, that the priests of the New Law be men of learning, and hence the corresponding necessity of a long and careful application to study on the part of those who aspire to the priesthood.

The trend of present-day methods is to extend as far as possible the time devoted to the study of Theology. The word has gone forth from the Vatican; it has been taken up by many bishops, and where formerly one year of philosophy and three years of theology were considered sufficient, now six years are needed to complete the regular Seminary course. It is needless to dwell on the advantages of this extension, which indeed is a necessity in view of the demands made upon the priest in these times of much reading and general culture.

Whilst, however, it is desirable to insist on the longer course, it cannot be ignored that since in many dioceses there exists a great scarcity of priests, whilst a large number of souls are craving for bread with none to break it to them, it would be a real hardship to insist always on the longer course. There are other reasons, such as the poverty of many dioceses or of the candidates who, whilst studying in the Seminary are obliged to defray their own expenses, which will induce many bishops, howsoever desirous they may be in theory to give their priests a long training in the Seminary, to shorten the course and ordain candidates in their third year, or even before that time.

In these circumstances it is pertinent to inquire, how the

course of studies can be arranged in our major seminaries so as to afford the students in a short time a sufficient grounding in Positive Theology, not only to meet their immediate requirements, but also to serve as a basis of useful study through life. A recent contributor to the REVIEW opened up the question in these words: "Is it practicable within the time now at the disposal of students for the priesthood, so to manage that, without falling below our present standard in other regards, the seminarians may read all, or at least a considerable portion, of the Holy Scriptures in such way that he may be said to have a grasp upon them, and that they really enter into his intellectual life; and can there be added to this a general introduction to Patrology, followed by the reading of a concatenated series of entire works so devised as to tap Tradition at commanding points, and so distributed as to render appeal to the more commonly cited spokesmen of the ancient Faith something more to him than the shadow of a name?" [1]

That the want here expressed has not long since been supplied is due, at least in a great measure, to the absence of a system of coördination or unification in the schools of theology. In the major seminaries we do not meet with that useful and highly interesting individual, whose acquaintance we made in the earlier days of our college life: viz. the Prefect of Studies. That is to say, there is no master mind pervading the classes of theology, bringing them in relation one with the other, staying the exuberant enthusiasm of this professor, who proudly thinks that his particular subject is the "one thing necessary" for the future priest; and stimulating the lingering and heedless process of that other, who, perhaps dissatisfied with his subject, regards it as of only secondary importance to the sacred ministry. The want of this supervising influence in the major seminary leaves professors usually to their own initiative, and the various schools are apt to degenerate into units that make for individualism instead of coördination, and develop a corresponding tendency to produce specialists rather than theologians. Not that specializing is to be despised in all cases; but what our semi-

[1] ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW, December, 1909, p. 667.

naries are supposed to produce, and what the world is waiting for, is not the priest who shines in this or that branch of science, but he who is the all-round man, armed cap-à-pie for the ministry. If his life is to be a continual study, by all means let him specialize, when he has the time; but first of all let him have the necessary general information before he assumes responsibility for souls.

Hence it is the opinion of the present writer that our major seminaries should have a Prefect of Studies, or if that term smacks too much of the Humanities, a Director or Master of Studies, whose duty would be to superintend the mode of teaching in the schools. It is necessary that he be a man of varied parts, even a genius, if the world hold any such nowadays; but in any case, the brightest mind in the institution, the one best supplied with general information, so that he may enter any class in the school and find himself perfectly at home. Among the duties that would claim his attention would be to arrange the program of studies, to apportion to each professor the subjects to be taught, specifying in every case the amount of work to be done during each semester; and so keep in touch with all the classes that he may be able to tell on any day how far the school has travelled along the theological way. He would thus have it in his power to keep watch on the students through the class-work, and with the knowledge obtained in this way he could easily prevent their devoting too much time to matters that appealed to their fancy, to the neglect of other subjects equally important.

Another duty of the Master of Studies would be to see to it, that the students acquire a maximum of Positive Theology in the shortest measure of time, and with the least possible waste of energy. This is indeed his chief duty, and the one that calls for the greatest share of efficiency. To coördinate and systematize the work of the schools so as to ensure a well-balanced result postulates abilities of no mean order, and from the success that will attend his efforts in this particular may be judged his aptitude for his position.

I venture to propose as merely tentative a plan that might be modified according to the circumstances of time and place. It might help at least to some extent in solving the difficulties

that here confront the Master of Studies. To simplify his duties and at the same time produce more efficient results, it would be necessary for him to divide the course of studies into what may be called fundamental and advanced work. The fundamental studies would comprise the primary tracts of Moral Theology, the questions of Revealed Religion, the Church, and, generally speaking, those matters usually styled "De Locis," together with the introductory questions of Canon Law. To these must be added Ecclesiastical History, Sacred Scripture and Patrology. Care, too, must be taken to insist on the importance of all these subjects; in fact they should be placed upon an equal footing, because to attach special value to one of them at the expense of another would be to render a well-balanced course impossible. The fundamental study of Church History should not be concerned with historical events, but rather with their philosophy, their bearing upon dogma and discipline, and their argumentative value in their relation with both. In like manner the Course of Sacred Scripture should be merely introductory. It would deal with the authenticity of the Books, the nature and extent of inspiration, the mode of interpretation, and their intrinsic value as a proof of doctrine. A similar rule would be observed in the study of Patrology. The authority of the Fathers would have to be fully discussed, synoptic readings would be examined containing short sketches of their lives grouped by centuries for the sake of clearness; the names and outlines of their principal works would be considered; these and the like considerations would occupy the students of Patrology during the time devoted to fundamental work. Meanwhile it would be the duty of the Master of Studies to show how all these different subjects coalesce to form the foundation of the edifice in which the future priests are to live their lives, and act their part as guides for the faithful.

After a year, or better still a year and a half, devoted to these fundamental subjects, the future missionaries are ready to enter upon what we have called the advanced work of the Seminary. Now the duties of the Master of Studies become more numerous and more weighty. He must superintend the different schools so as to keep up equal emulation in all

the subjects, and particularly must he endeavor to restrain the tendency for Dialectics, which frequently turn especially clever students from the true founts of theology, and lead them to waste time and energy in vain and subtle argumentation. With Moral Theology he cannot do much. The present methods for this subject are perhaps as good as any that could be suggested, and to inaugurate a change in this particular might result in more harm than good.

But in Dogmatic Theology a change might well be effected, by insisting more on the positive aspects of the matter. Dogma should be taught in conjunction with Sacred Scripture, Patrology, and Church History, their mutual relations so preserved that the four may be said to constitute only one course, though each may have a separate professor. In the school these four should run, as it were, in parallel lines, each professor keeping ever in view the work done by the other three, so that it will be true to say that all four teach the same doctrine but from different viewpoints. To illustrate, let us suppose that the students, having finished the fundamental work, take up the question of the Incarnation. It would then be the part of the professor of dogma to explain the intrinsic nature of this mystery, its relation to other points of doctrine, and, bearing his hearers along the path of Scholastic Theology, establish the truth of the mystery by the usual dialectical methods followed in the schools.

At the same time the professor of Sacred Scripture would delve into the pages of Holy Writ in search of the same doctrine. He would trace it from the promise made in the Garden of Eden all down the inspired pages until "The Word was made flesh and dwelt among us." Deftly his investigations will bear him along the self-same road traversed by his co-laborer in the school of dogma, till every view put forth by the latter finds full confirmation in the course of Sacred Scripture.

A like duty would fall to the professor of Patrology. As the one scans the pages of Holy Writ, the other ransacks the writings of the Fathers to find their views concerning the subject under consideration and let in the light of venerable antiquity to confirm and consolidate the proofs already advanced in the other schools.

Finally the professor of Sacred History would have his corresponding part to play, at least in the greater number of dogmatic questions. In the case here adduced he would trace the doctrine of the Incarnation down the History of the Church. He would point out the errors that arose from time to time concerning it, he would enter into the details of the various controversies that were waged around it, and describe how the Church spoke in solemn definition, setting the seal of her supreme authority on the questions at issue. And all the while the professors should keep in touch with each other, not merely in the sense that they are engaged in teaching the same subject in a general way, but aiming at singleness of choice and uniformity of progress with regard to its divisions and subdivisions, so that the students in all the schools may be dominated by one central thought, to the formation and support of which each professor would in turn contribute.

This unification or coördination would depend largely on the efforts of the Master of Studies. Once a week he might call the professors to a conference, where they could compare notes with regard to the work done, and at the same time agree upon a line of concerted action for the following week or ten days. Naturally the professor of dogma should hold the key to the situation. Upon him it would depend to set the pace for the schools; but under the guidance of the Master of Studies he could so temper his zeal that his associates would be able to keep up with him, and thus the work would advance uniformly, and as it were in unison.

What has been said here with regard to the Incarnation applies with equal force to the other points of doctrine. The nature and attributes of God, the Blessed Trinity, the Creation, the Sacraments, the future state; these and all such questions may be subjected to the same treatment, and scarcely one of them that would not be more firmly grasped and more securely held under a system such as this. Each in turn would furnish the Master of Studies splendid opportunities for the exercise of his powers of coördination, and place within easy reach of the students rich treasures of Positive Theology.

The first obstacle that stands in the way of adopting the

plan here set forth is the want of suitable text-books. This is indeed a difficulty, but it is not one that would last for any considerable length of time. In this, as in all other cases, the demand would create a supply. The text-books so common nowadays are nothing more than the surplus energy of professors crystallized into book-form, and there cannot be any reason to suppose that the same energy would not continue even in changed conditions, to find outward expression in printed pages. Hence if the plan were once adopted text-books would soon follow, and in the meantime it would not be too much to ask of any up-to-date seminary that it furnish the students with advance-sheets either printed or lithographed, so as to render unnecessary the bugbear of dictation.

It may be said, too, that our plan does not differ in reality from that now in vogue in our major seminaries, because our text-books actually contain abundant quotations from Scripture and the Fathers. No doubt; but somehow the student's mind and memory do not get hold of the matter. The method I suggest is not content with isolated quotations, but seeks the whole sum of doctrine at its true sources. It would guide the student by way of authority, giving him the views of his ancestors in the faith, and thus making him conscious heir to the accumulated thought of the ages.

Three years of such study should give the future priest a fair share of Positive Theology. He would have learned to trace the doctrines of faith back through the history of God's Church; he would have come into speaking terms with the Fathers who begot that faith in the early ages, and would have discovered in Holy Writ the same faith ushered in upon the world and swathed in the swaddling clothes of inspiration. He would thus become acquainted at least with the geography of the "Theological Places"; and, if in the future, his taste for study should tempt him to visit these favored lands, he may pluck luscious fruit or lovely flower, according as he desires the solid food of the hungry soul, or simply the mental pleasure of an esthetic traveller.

J. C. MACMILLAN.

Cardigan Bridge, Canada.

LUTHER IN PROTESTANT PICTORIAL AND BIOGRAPHIC PORTRAITURE.

IF the number of monuments, memorial pictures, commemorative medals, biographies, odes and satires, eulogies and lampoons, be taken as the standard of measuring an individual's importance and worth, then perhaps few men present stronger claims on our attention than Martin Luther. Luther monuments, pretentious and modest, rear themselves not only on the native sites and haunts of Luther in Saxony and Thuringia, but in not a few other localities in Germany, Scandinavia, and Austria—places where the hero of this adulation never set foot, in fact were unknown to him even by name. In Saxony and Thuringia portraits of Luther adorn almost every church, parsonage, and schoolhouse. But also in the Scandinavian countries, in the Baltic Provinces, with the Lutherans of America and Australia, his picture is frequently the only ornament that the church or school can show.

But far more astounding than monument and picture is the extent of the Luther literature. In the eighteenth century, it already was deemed expedient to make an inventory of this literature. But these initial efforts were highly unsatisfactory. A better success rewarded the labors of Ernst Gustav Vogel in 1851.[1] However, in spite of his painstaking diligence and scrupulous care, much escaped his industry, and unfortunately the nearly numberless mass of pamphlets, dissertations, eulogies and satires, which even during Luther's lifetime had sprung up with a tropical rankness, were not incorporated. All the same, he was able to enumerate more than thirteen hundred books and treatises on Luther. To-day a complete collection of Lutherana would certainly show more than two thousand volumes, and this without including the more or less valuable contributions in the daily press, in weekly, monthly, or quarterly magazine publications.

But equally astounding in its extent is the polyglot and diversified character of this literature. The field of belles-lettres is represented by a countless number of lyric and epic poems, a half-dozen historical romances, and no less than a dozen Luther dramas in German, Swedish, and Italian. The

[1] *Bibliotheca biographica Lutherana.*

catalogue of educational literature opens with a stately array of more than two hundred biographies in Latin, German, English, Dutch, Danish, Swedish, French, and Italian. Not a place or phase in his life but is the subject of some recondite dissertation. We have erudite, not infrequently ponderous books and treatises on the year of his birth, the house of his birth, the town of his birth; on his parents and grandparents; his wife, his children and grandchildren; his sicknesses and travels; his inner and outer mode of life and habits; on the poems, monuments, and medals dedicated to him; essays and dissertations on his learning, monastic and reformatory career; on his philosophical, political, social, economic, pedagogic, and esthetic views and tendencies; on his musical and poetical accomplishments; on his significance in the development of the German language and literature. In fact there is hardly an event or feature in his life, no matter how trivial, which has not at one time or other challenged the actually formidable industry of the historical specialist, and no sphere of human activity in which, by way of supplement, it was not attempted to fit the views of the Reformer. Even his casual observations on the piracy of books and the unsealing of letters have not escaped the scrutiny of inquisitorial research. The question as to what he drank, how and when he drank, forms a small special literature of its own.

Many of these books and treatises to-day possess only an archaic value. Nevertheless a considerable part of this literature is the product of modern writers, and has even a contemporary origin. In the course of the last seven years no less than five Luther biographies and five Luther dramas have made their appearance—besides a volume on the youthful Luther, Denifle's great controversial broadside, and an immeasurable number of works on specialized lines of Lutheran research. It may sound enigmatic, but still it is true, that there is more written, and the battle waxes warmer to-day over Luther, than over Goethe or Schiller, Napoleon or Bismarck.

But is the Luther thus enshrined in the memory of men, the *real* Luther, or merely an idealized figment or repulsive caricature, that has nothing more in common with the real Luther than the name and historic vesture?

I. Luther has the attribute of being one of the few mortals whose face, at least in Germany, is known to every one, and no matter in what representation it may show itself it is instantly recognizable. This is not owing to the fact that so many Luther portraits are in existence, but because all of them have the same stereotyped form and expression. Almost all of them show us a portly man, of full years, with a broad peasant face, prominent jawbones, a shock of curly hair, a somewhat flabby countenance, and small, piercing eyes. This type is so well established, and the public has so familiarized itself with it, that even Ernst Rietschel did not dare deviate from it when he created the famed monument at Worms. His artistic conscience assured him that the Luther of the year 1521, who faced the historic Diet, was entirely different from the one who now dominates the Lutherplatz in Worms. The same type with a consistency and recurrence not usually found among modern artists is still religiously preserved. On it as a basis, physiognomists in all scientific seriousness still base their observations, and ethnographers, with a precipitancy somewhat characteristic of the joyous science, established the thesis that a strong admixture of Slavic blood coursed in the veins of the Reformer!

The historian, at the very outset, instinctively entertains strong suspicion and doubt about such popular types. But is this suspicion and doubt justified in the case at hand?

The Luther head is certainly no free creation of the artist's fancy, like Dürer's Charles the Fifth, that immortal replica of medieval art. The inquiry must go back, as every student of Luther knows, to the many hundred portraits ascribed to the brush of the elder Lucas Kranach; and as his model is to be taken— a fact we read with some interest to-day—the altar-piece in the municipal church at Weimar. Here, it is claimed, Kranach represents the Reformer as he lived and will continue to live in the memory of the popular mind.

But what art compendiums and history primers offer as critical finalities do not always satisfy the claim of modern art criteria. In the company of a capable leader of our own day,[2] let us review the art legacy of the elder Kranach, and

[2] Paul Flechsig, *Kranach Studien.*

we experience surprise after surprise. In the first place, we discover, not without a sense of amazement, that this legacy has as yet been far from critically inventoried. We discover furthermore that of the many hundred Luther portraits handed down to us from the sixteenth century only three portraits in oil and two copper engravings can be ascribed to the elder Kranach. We discover finally that the classic representation of the accepted type—the Weimar altarpiece, far from being the work of the elder Kranach, was demonstrably that of Lucas Kranach the Younger, painted two years after his father's, and nine years after Luther's death. Now the younger Kranach was admittedly a competent artist, but was not to be classed with his renowned father. If we subject the doubtlessly authentic "Kranach's" to a close scrutiny, we observe at a glance that they have nothing in common with the typical Luther head. Even staunch Lutherans who, to use a colloquialism, know the Doctor's face as well as the face of their father will show no signs of recognition. The typical Luther head (by which we mean the commonly accepted one) first makes its appearance on the so-called *Epitaphium Lutheri,* a wood-cut manufactured for popular distribution a short time after Luther's death. This wood-cut no doubt had its origin in the workshop of the Kranachs, but was hardly the product of the elder Kranach, who at the time of Luther's death (1546) was at the advanced age of seventy-five years. It was the work of the younger Lucas, who even then had been for some years the soul of the paternal business. But even here Luther's portrait is markedly different from the well-known portraits of Schwergeburth, Gustav König, Spangenberg, or even in Wartburg Luther Gallery or Weimar. The features are more severe and seamy. The mouth is firmly closed. In the middle of the forehead the hair curls itself into a tuft. Between the eyebrows a sinister frown shows itself, and over the right eye there impends a huge wart.

The greatest surprise that awaits us, however, is perhaps the knowledge that *not one* of the old, and doubtlessly authentic Kranach portraits, harmonizes with the traditional description of Luther's person. Not one of them depicts the erect, bold, defiant, rigid carriage of his person; that he in-

clined more to the rear than the front. Not one of them gives us even an approximate description of the dark, forbidding eyes, which glimmer and flash with such star-like intensity that they cannot be steadfastly encountered. This characteristic, straight-laced carriage of his body, the falcon eyes, lion eyes, basilisk eyes, which did not escape the attention of foe or friend, the elder Kranach likewise signally failed in reproducing.

If the two Kranach's failed to give us this faithful portrait, and they were two of the greatest artists in Germany at the time, how much less the obscure painters who on 18-21 February, 1546, had the dead Luther as a subject. One of these, Lucas Fortenagel, of Halle, was, as the false perspective of his well-known picture "Luther on his Deathbed" shows, unable to cope satisfactorily with even the technical difficulties of his task, and the unknown modeller in wax to whom we owe the celebrated death-mask of the Reformer, now in possession of the Marienbibliothek at Halle, was certainly not a shining mark in his profession. The great German portrait painters of the period—Dürer, Holbein, Amberger, never saw Luther. Dürer, it is true, expressed a desire to make a portrait and copperplate of him; but he never carried out his design.

This failure was an evident loss to Luther specialists, and we may at least measurably appreciate the extent of this loss when we compare the portraits of Melanchthon from the Kranach studio with Dürer's copperplate and Holbein's red pencil sketch. The Kranach portrait is most depressing. It represents Melanchthon as a half-famished, cadaverous, even despicable figure, which fails to inspire any other motive than pity, if not contempt. Even in the Wartburg frescoes he leaves anything but a favorable impression. But a glance at the Dürer and Holbein portraits, reveals Master Philip as a man of mental activity, with glimmerings of genius and a healthy vitality—altogether an engaging figure.

We must accordingly console ourselves with the knowledge that not only have we not many, but really not a *single* authentic portrait of Luther; and not many hundred, but only a few, Luther engravings from the hands of the great artist Kranach. In these few authentic ones, which we have thus

far known, and which depict the Reformer at the height of his power, we search in vain for the typical Luther head. For its creation we must go to the younger and not the elder Kranach. This states with sufficient clearness that it is not the spontaneous product of the artistic imagination, like Dürer's Charles the Fifth. Out of the canvas looks the countenance of the old, irrascible, sick, and embittered Luther. But the younger Lucas had already begun to idealize away the traces of old age in his subsequent representations of the Reformer. This is amply proved by the Weimar portrait. His example was slavishly followed by all the more modern artists, who idealized the already idealized type more and more, and devoted themselves assiduously in brushing away the brusque and aggressive features which still linger in the younger Kranach. It can be stated without fear of contradiction that the most popular and widely circulated of these modern "ideal" portraits, "Luther in his Fur Coat", which decorates so many churches, lacks verisimilitude to a degree that would prevent even the Doctress Katharine from knowing her husband in it.[3]

II. What harm is there, however, even though all these Luther portraits which painting or engraving have produced, and will no doubt continue to produce, are so unlike the original, if only biographic and historic literature give us the true and real Luther? But does literature fully and satisfactorily meet the demand? No student of Luther would have the rashness to answer in the affirmative. A closer examination of the literary Luther portraits gives us the identical result that a closer examination of the pictorial portraits does. True, these literary portraits, so far as they are designed for larger circles, have a common similarity, in the same proportion as they give us the dissimilarity of the original. They, likewise, in the strict sense of the word are not portraits, but only reproductions of a commonly accepted type. Only we must draw a distinction between two types: the idealizing and interpretative, in which hero worship is the inspiration;

[3] Those interested in the psychologic and physiognomic study of the Luther portraits may read Denifle's *Luther Physiognomie*, published as a supplement to his *Luther und Lutherthum*, pp. 815-828, Mainz, 1904.

and the literal and real, which modern research and historic objectivity force on us.[4]

In the history of the ideal type, we find, to a great extent, a reflection of the spiritual development of the Protestant world since the sixteenth century. Every period of time fashioned the traditional picture of the Reformer according to its own ideals; every period discovered new lineaments in his countenance or brought into prominence less known ones. In the sixteenth century the Reformer is more than a mere man. He is acclaimed as an inspired personality, whose advent is foretold in the Bible and by the seers of the Middle Ages, as the Prophet of Germany, called by God Himself, enlightened by superior wisdom and strengthened by extraordinary power as the Vessel Elect. The religious appraisement of Luther's person and work permeates the oldest biography of Luther; the Luther sermons of John Methesius even intrude themselves into the Formula of Concordance. This ideal type has the character of an article of faith with Luther's votaries, which, like other articles of faith, must be taught circumstantially, maintained vociferously, and develop themselves systematically.

Pietism assumes a different attitude toward Luther's person and work. It also claims a prëemptive right to the Reformer, and accordingly applauds him as a man of unwearied prayer and a champion of the church, nay even as the direct founder of the little pietistic annex in the larger Protestant church. But it experiences a secret and apprehensive anxiety that this man does not precisely adjust himself conveniently, not to say logically, to their models of pietistic holiness, and as a result cannot escape the mild animadversions, if not severer censures, from the pietistic viewpoint. The historian of Pietism, Gottfried Arnold, in his portentous and splenetic work, delineates him as the model of a true evangelical Christian and teacher during the first seven years of his reformatory work—the period of pressure and opposition. With the later Luther he finds much to take exception to, and, as far as consistency permits, to disown.

[4] The subject is treated more exhaustively by the writer in the *American Cath. Quart. Review*, 1901, pp. 582-601.

Now that which gave offense to the Pietist—his frank and blunt worldliness, his brutal treatment of his adversaries, his denunciatory opposition to all Catholic devotions—is precisely what made the "ecclesiastical rehabilitator the idol of the advanced and rationalist thinkers". They lauded him as the apostle of enlightenment and reason in juxtaposition to "superstition and unreason, whereby, through the autocratic domination of the priests, religious and moral teaching was marred and blunted". As such he was the precursor of freedom of thought and conscience. Even as late as 1817, in an old night-watchman's song, we hear the refrain:

> Hört Ihr Herrn und lasst Euch sagen
> Der Geist ist nicht mehr in Fesseln geschlagen,
> Gedenket an Luther, den Ehrenman,
> Der solche Freiheit Euch gewann.[5]

In the same year the rationalistic-dogmatic theologian Wegscheider dedicated the second edition of his Dogmatic Theology to the manes of Martin Luther as the founder and champion of "freedom of thought".

However, even in the high-tide of Rationalism, other voices were muttering loud enough to obtain a hearing. Justus Moser and Gottfried Herder made the discovery that Luther embodied the most exalted type of a—German patriot. They hailed him not only as "a co-reformer of our liberal [*aufgeklärten*] Europe", but above all "as a patriotically great man"—in fact the chief creator of a national cultus. This nationalistic conception, wrought out most adroitly, attained the character of a national hysteria during the wars of German freedom. The "brain-storm" took an especially strong hold in academic circles, where the Reformer was exhumed as the true pattern of a typical German, the ideal exponent of German piety, German manhood, and German liberty of thought.

In the nineteenth century this naïve mode of idealization, which pell-mell invested the hero with one's own ideals, lost ground. But it is far from dead, or even somnolent at this day. If we no longer feel inclined to take Luther in his en-

[5] Hark ye, gentlemen, and let me tell you, the mind is no longer riveted in chains. Think of Luther, the noble man, who has secured for you such a freedom.

tirety, we can detach him in sections. Of course in all these appraisements there was as great a divergence of opinion as there was a clash of judgment. The strict new-Lutherans peremptorily dismiss the young Luther as "a personality as yet undeveloped, tossed hither and thither in subjectivistic extravagances". To them the model, exemplar, and master is the old Luther. On the other hand liberal Protestantism will have nothing to do with the old Luther. Only the Luther who burned the Bull of Excommunication, who fearlessly proclaimed his "loyalty to conscience" before the Emperor and empire at Worms, who occupied the stage of Germany between 1517 and 1523, is dear and sacred to its heart. But unfortunately this Luther is not the real Luther. "Luther"—and it is Adolph Harnach who is speaking—"Luther in those joyous but brief days of the Reformation, was pushed beyond the limits of his being. But very soon, as it could not be otherwise, he relapsed into his narrowness. All the charges laid at the door of his adversaries, the conversion of the Gospel into a creed, the stickling over the letter of the Bible, the neglect of the moral for the doctrinal, of all this he was himself guilty."

Aside of this in liberal Protestant circles the older nationistic conception still enjoys great popularity. It relegates the Reformer Luther to the background and brings the German patriot and national hero Luther to the forefront. Gustav Freytag's *Life of Luther,* which attempts only a portrayal of the German citizen Luther, dissociated from the theologian Luther, is a characteristic example of such a conception and tendency. Even the latest of the larger biographies, that of Adolph Haussrath, discloses in many places this national and liberal historical viewpoint. For it is no secret to even a casual reader, that precisely the religious conflicts of the Reformer are those in which the brilliant author is least successful and which he advisedly slurs.

In the majority of the popular Luther biographies of recent date, another peculiar characterization of German *Bürgerthum* makes itself conspicuous. The brusque and brutal, the uncouth and violent, the vulgar and gnarly features of the Reformer's physiognomy are cunningly brushed aside. The lion is metamorphosed into a tame boudoir cat. It is true

he rages at times, but his roar is of little or no consequence. It is the rage of the German domestic despot, who fumes and storms, clatters and shouts, but is as harmless as a pet kitten.

In this portraiture we must not overlook another school—that of revolutionary radicalism. To discredit Luther's doctrine it assailed his person and habits, his speech and conduct, and drew a picture of Luther that had as much in common with the ideals of the evangelicals as night has with day. The Luther portrait of revolutionary radicalism traces its original outlines to Thomas Münzer. Broadly executed, and boldly enunciated, we first find it in the nineteenth century by the authors of the radical bourgeois and social democracy.

The appraisement of the Reformer rests solely on his hatred of the radical politics and socialistic tendencies of Münzer and his followers, as well as his inexplicable and indefensible attitude during the Peasants' War. It brands him as the "dull, soft-living flesh of Wittenberg"; again, as a blood-reeking executioner, self-prostituted tool of the nobility, populace-hating parson. True as the arraignment may be in part it loses much of its force, for radicalism has barely a bowing acquaintance with the criteria of history.

We can not enter into detail on the eliminations and emendations this new biographic impulse has given the life of Luther. How in the minuteness of its research it brought to light such apparently unimportant, but all the same new facts, as for instance that Luther was baptized on 11 November, 1483, on the groundfloor of the tower of SS. Peter and Paul's Church, Eisleben, by the probable pastor, Bartholomew Rennebecher; that at Erfurt he lived in the *Georgenbörse* at the Lehman's Bridge; that the uncle on whose aid his parents counted when they sent him to Eisenach was Conrad Hutter, the sexton of St. Nicholas's Church; that when on the Coburg Luther wore spectacles and cultivated a good-sized beard, etc. All these data are of interest to the Luther student, hardly less than the endless discussion of what gave occasion to his visit to Rome in 1510, or why all writers of note promptly reject the falsely attributed words placed in his mouth at Worms in 1521: "Here I stand; I can not do otherwise, so help me God. Amen,"—or whether the hymn "Eine feste Burg" originated in 1521, 1527, or 1528, or

what were the exact facts surrounding his death on 18 February, 1546.

In this study such details, interesting and valuable as they may be, need not be entered upon, but even the casual reader can not fail to observe that they are contributing factors in bringing about a better and fuller appraisement of the life, personality, and activity of Luther. It can safely be stated that, even abstracting from the incalculable contributions made in this Luther portrait by that great Catholic triumvirate—Döllinger, Janssen, and Denifle—who have virtually made it an imperative necessity to re-write the life of Luther if not the Reformation itself, we to-day know more about the Reformer than others have known, and that what we know is more authentic and trustworthy; in fact, the portrait we now have of Luther is more like the real and true Luther than that possessed at any time since his death.

By this we do not claim that the biography of the real and true Luther has thus far been written. Luther, like Japhet in search of a father, is still searching for faithful portraiture, pictorial or biographic.

H. G. GANSS.

Lancaster, Pa.

DE LICEITATE CUJUSDAM OPERATIONIS.

(A Criticism.)

The present paper, by an English priest, is a criticism of P. Rigby's article, advance copy of which had been sent to a few theologians before the July number appeared. The writer had not seen the Rev. Th. Labouré's excellent commentary in the same issue, which largely anticipates the conclusions and suggestions here expressed.—EDITOR.

I AM not in a position to say how other readers of this REVIEW have been affected by the discussion on the subject in question; for myself I frankly confess that I do not know precisely where I stand! On reading the paper by Father Donovan, one's first thought was: How very satisfactory a solution of a crying difficulty! Then there came Monsignor De Becker's emphatic condemnation of the doctrine suggested in the above-mentioned paper. This made me reconsider the question and wish that a fuller discussion

of it could be attempted, as it was clear that there were strong arguments both for and against the view held by Father Donovan. There then came the quiet, reasoned paper by Father Rigby. At first I thought he was going to uphold the licitness of the operation proposed, and I plead guilty to a sense of satisfaction at the thought. But then to my dismay he showed his hand and with pitiless logic dissected the theory into shreds! I took a walk after reading that paper; for it called for digestion; it was stiff reading; it was packed with argument, and the writer was clearly a canonist and a theologian. But somehow—I mean no disrespect—one has a kind of instinctive dread of your speculative canonist and your book-theologian.

As I walked briskly along I could not but recall the familiar adage which my old Professor of Morals was never tired of dinning into our ears: *Sacramenta sunt propter homines.* What a very broad principle it seemed in those early days of inexperience! What a glorious principle it seems now in the light of all the sin and misery with which missionary life has made us only too familiar!

Before returning home I called upon an old priest whose knowledge of souls was unsurpassed—though your "New Curate" fresh from his Ballerini, Bucceroni, Noldin, etc., would probably vote him "out-of-date." I put the case to him and waited whilst he smoked a reflective pipe.

"The new ideas seem to me dangerous," he said as he knocked out the ashes. "I do not like these new-fangled notions!"

This was just what I had expected he would say, but I had cherished a lurking hope that his long experience of the seamy side of poor human nature would have led him to jump at a solution which seemed to cut more than one Gordian knot. But he was inexorable.

"No," he reiterated; "I don't like it. These modern folk are too fond of avoiding unpleasantnesses. I sometimes think recent theologians forget God and grace when they are so busy inventing loopholes of escape from ills which are really due to the absolutely material lives men lead nowadays."

It seemed hopeless to argue with such a man, and I began to wish I had not come! However, I made one last attempt:

"Father Rigby's paper," I said, "is too medieval for me. His doctrine is practically built up on an article of St. Thomas and on a decree of Sixtus V. The world has moved on since those days and we cannot afford to be behind the age."

"Not even in Moral Theology?" he queried with a whimsical smile. "Besides," he added, "I should not call Sixtus V medieval, you know. He lived after the Council of Trent."

We smoked in silence for a bit, and then the old man said:

"Don't you think, too, that the remedy you propose smacks a bit too much of Socialism?"

"And what if it does?" I blurted out. "We are all Socialists nowadays!"

"I thought as much," said the veteran sadly, as he put away his pipe, "and I am beginning to feel glad that my days are numbered and that I shall not live to see the day when the State is allowed to ride rough-shod over the rights of the individual."

With that we parted and I resumed my solitary walk home. When I reached my presbytery my housekeeper told me a young couple were waiting to see me about putting up their banns. I went into the little instruction-room and there found a girl whom I had long known as one of the best of my small tribe of Children of Mary, and a weedy-looking young fellow whom I had never seen before.

"Well," I said, "what can I do for you?"

Mary hung her head and blushed, while the ruffianly-looking fellow twirled his dirty cap and appeared to wish he were miles away.

"I don't think I have seen you before," I said. "Where do you come from?"

"Please, Father," chimed in Mary, "John doesn't come from these parts. Him and me has been keeping company and we wants to get married—and please, Father, John don't belong to our Church."

It was the old story, a mixed marriage; the girl was the pick of my flock, the man—well, he looked a gaol-bird.

"All right, Mary," I said, "just step outside and go and chat with the housekeeper while John and I have a talk."

Mary slipped out, pleased to escape from a trying situation, and "John" and I faced one another. There was an awk-

ward silence whilst I took stock of him. I may not be as old as Father N— whom I had just been visiting, but I do know a gaol-bird when I see one. "John" shifted his feet uneasily and studied the pattern of the carpet.

"Well," I said, "where did you meet Mary?"

"Over B— way," he answered, without looking up. B— was a town some miles away, with an unenviable reputation.

"Over B— way?" I remarked. "And what were you doing in B—?"

"John" gave me a furtive glance and remained mum.

"Look here, John," I said, "I have known Mary ever since she was born, and I am not going to say 'Yes' to your marrying her till I know something more about you. She is a good girl and I want to know what you are."

After some palavering, John told me of some one living in B— from whom I could get information about his "past," and then I showed the couple out with a kindly word, promising to let them hear from me in a day or two.

John's "past" was all I expected. He was a criminal who had "served his time" in more than one gaol. He was now free, but the police told me that he would certainly fall into their clutches before long.

"His is a bad stock," said the Inspector to whom I had applied; "his father and mother before him were 'bad uns,' and so were their fathers and mothers. It is a pity," he added, "that we cannot wipe out the whole brood!"

Then by my own fireside once more I read over again the controversy "De liceitate cujusdam operationis."

I sighed as I laid it down. If Father Donovan was right, my difficulty was solved. But was he right? Father Rigby said—and Father N— agreed with him—that he was fundamentally wrong! I picked up Father Rigby's paper once more and read it carefully through. I don't think I ever did such hard thinking, even in my student-days! Perhaps, however, my quondam Professors would say that does not mean much!

And this was the result of my "thinking." The paper in question says that vasectomy is wrong and that it cannot be lawfully insisted on by the State.

Now it seems to me that vasectomy is lawfully practised by

the State, and that St. Thomas's article on "Mutilation" (IIda. IIdae., lxv, 1) shows this clearly. The Saint is asking whether it can ever be lawful to deprive a man of any member. After putting forward certain arguments which seem to declare it unlawful, he quotes the precept of the Old Law "An eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth, a hand for a hand, a foot for a foot."[1] He then proceeds to argue thus: Since any particular member is a part of the whole human body, it is ordained to the whole just as the imperfect is ordained to the perfect. Hence we have to deal with the members of the human body according as is most advantageous for the whole. Now a member of the human body is regularly (*per se*) useful to the whole body; but it may sometimes accidentally happen that it is harmful to it—a putrefying member, for example, leads to the corruption of the whole body. Hence, if any particular member is healthy and in its natural state, it cannot be removed without harm to the whole body.

But since the whole man himself is ordained to the whole community as to his end—for he is a part of it—it may happen that the removal of a member, though detrimental to his body as a whole, is yet really for the gain of the whole community; for example, when such mutilation is imposed upon anyone as a punishment, and for the prevention of crime.

Before continuing the extract, it should be noted that St. Thomas's argument is of course based on the idea of mutilation *as a punishment*, but it is none the less true that his principle is of universal application. He proceeds:

> Hence, then, just as anyone may be lawfully deprived—by the public authority—of even life itself for certain graver crimes, so also may a man be deprived of some member for minor offences. No private person of course can do this—even if the offender is willing to submit to it; for this would involve an injury to the community, since the man himself and all his members belong to it.

These are strong words and yet they are not so decisive as the doctrine laid down in the answers St. Thomas furnishes to the difficulties he himself proposes. St. John

[1] Exod. 21:24.

Damascene had defined sin as "a departure from what is natural in favor of what is unnatural." It might, then, be argued that the integrity of the human body is something natural and that any violation of this integrity is unnatural. St. Thomas's reply is well worth our attention: "There is nothing," he says, "to prevent what is contrary to an individual nature being for the good of universal nature, just as death and corruption in nature are contrary to the particular nature which is corrupted. Similarly, to deprive a man of some member—although contrary to the individual nature of the body so mutilated—is yet quite natural when reference is made to the common good."

Again, he objects that, according to Aristotle, the parts of the soul are related to the parts of the body as the whole soul is related to the whole body. But only public authority can deprive a man of his soul by killing him. Consequently only the same public authority can deprive a man of some individual member. He replies that the life of the whole man is not ordained to some particular good of that individual man, but rather that the converse is true, namely that all that a man has is ordained to his life; hence in no case can any but public authority deprive a man of life; since to the public authority belongs the duty of seeing to the good of the whole community. But on the other hand the removal of some particular member may be conducive to the salvation of the individual man; consequently cases may arise wherein he has the right to deprive himself of some particular member.

This last reply would almost seem to show that a man might lawfully submit to vasectomy for the sake of his soul, but St. Thomas is careful to preclude this by saying that, in accordance with the statutes of the Council of Nice,[2] any such mutilation is prohibited. And he argues that no member is to be removed for the sake of the body's health save when this can be safeguarded in no other way. But the salvation of the soul can always be procured in other ways; since sin is subject to the will.

But are we to apply the doctrine of this *responsio* of St. Thomas to the operation in question? To do so seems to me

[2] Part I, Sect. iv, Can. 1.

an *ignoratio elenchi*, for the whole point is that the people whom it is proposed to subject to this operation cannot *de facto* reform themselves. Neither can the State compel their wills. And we are not exaggerating when we say that they cannot reform themselves; for it is undeniable that many degenerates have no will-power: it has been vitiated by self-indulgence. We cannot, then, in their case appeal to the doctrine given by St. Thomas, precisely because the fulcrum is wanting. The question, then, comes to this: Seeing that these men have not the will-power and that the State cannot control their wills, can the State step in and *will* for them?

Again, the writer of the paper bases his denial of the rights of the State to impose this operation upon undesirables on the principle that, since self-mutilation is unlawful, *a fortiori* it is unlawful for the State to impose it. And he proves his principle by invoking another principle, viz. that the spiritual good of an individual outweighs any rights which the State may claim. Of course it is clear that the man is not for the State, but the State for the man. But surely it is possible to push this principle too far. As the principle is stated it would seem impossible to avoid the conclusion that any crank might insist that a particular course of action was for his spiritual good and hence beyond the control of the State. This opens up a vista of Smythe-Piggotts and "Agapemones" etc., which it is appalling to contemplate.

And what about suicide? If we are to insist on the application of the writer's principles, we should have to argue that since it is illegal for anyone to commit suicide it is *a fortiori* illegal for the State to inflict capital punishment—a doctrine entirely opposed to the teaching of St. Thomas in the article quoted above.

Further, while the State does not directly seek to impose this operation on undesirables for their *spiritual good*—with which it has no direct concern — it yet does so indirectly. For, *pace* the writer of the article, there can be little doubt that such an operation does give many a man who is enslaved by his passions a new lease of moral life. Priests will, we fancy, readily bear witness that self-restraint has in certain cases become a moral impossibility; and though no experienced priest would dare to assert absolutely that conse-

quent acts of self-indulgence are always necessarily mortal in themselves, yet even on the most lenient view of them they undoubtedly imperil a man's chances of salvation. It is surely possible to conceive of men who have become wrecks both physically and morally by self-indulgence and who seem, while loathing their degraded state, to be beyond—we say it with all reserve—the reach of the Sacraments. It is claimed for the operation in question that it will restore the virility of such men and will also give them a chance of recovering their moral equilibrium. In this sense, then, the State might well claim that in insisting on this operation it is doing a man the greatest charity both physically and morally.

We do not, of course, deny that there are certain degenerates who, as St. Thomas would say, sin *ex certa malitia*, who love their sin and who would resent any attempt to deprive them of the gratification to which they have become slaves; it is to such that St. Chrysostom's words apply (quoted on pp. 70 and 76 footnote, July number). But surely there are a number of cases to which those words do not apply.

Once more, the article we are criticizing insists that people who have undergone such an operation sin grievously every time they seek the "remedium concupiscentiae." But since the Church allows marriage to women who, whether before or after marriage, have undergone operations which deprive them of all hope of offspring,[3] it is surely legitimate to argue that women who have undergone such operations—whether voluntarily or because imposed by the public authority—do not sin "etiam in subsequenti usu matrimonii." But if this reasoning is sound, then the whole argument of the article—at least in the case of women—falls to the ground.

The case of lunatics seems to us to demand special attention. There are many lunatics who, save for the fact that it is undesirable that they should have offspring, might well be at liberty. Father Rigby argues that we have no right to insist on the performance of an operation which, whilst enabling us to give such people their liberty, shall yet ensure that they do not propagate their species—for the sole reason that it is always within the bounds of possibility that they

[3] See the two Decrees quoted in the article.

may recover the use of reason. Presumably we must concede such a possibility, for we have no right to exclude even miracles from our calculations. But now let us put the argument from the standpoint of the State. 1. These lunatics involve an enormous annual expense. 2. There is no taint which is so clearly and demonstrably hereditary; hence the State is not only allowed but is positively bound to do all in its power to obviate the propagation of such a scourge. 3. Perform this operation upon them and what follows? The future of the State is safeguarded; heavy expenses to the community are saved; the material well-being of the lunatics themselves is vastly improved. It is not inconceivable, even, that they may recover their mental powers, but—and it is here that Father Rigby's difficulty comes in—if they do recover they will find themselves deprived of something to which they have a right and the deprival of which may even lead to the loss of the Kingdom of heaven. But surely we cannot expect the State to be governed by the consideration of such remote contingencies as these! They *may* recover; they *may* lose their rights to the Kingdom of heaven. Indeed this last contingency seems to us a very remote one. For take the case that a lunatic who had not undergone such an operation, but was a slave to his passions, recovered. He would recover his physical but not his moral liberty; he is a slave to degrading passions; his chances of gaining heaven are, as far as we dare judge, remote; and he is to be let loose upon the world to propagate his detestable species to the lasting detriment of the State which is unhappy enough to be his proud possessor! But put the case the other way: he emerges from confinement with his mental balance restored —largely owing, perhaps, to this very operation; he has no longer the same incentive to self-indulgence as of yore; he has every chance of becoming a useful member of society—but he cannot hope for offspring; neither can he exercise a right which is inherent in human nature and the deprivation of which will possibly lead to his losing the Kingdom of heaven. Again we repeat that this last is only a remote contingency, except in the case of those who are so utterly depraved as to have put themselves out of court; it surely cannot be allowed to outweigh every other consideration.

Must not facts come before contingencies? And there are two other factors which have to be taken into account when deciding upon the case of these lunatics: 1. Can they be considered moral persons, i. e. persons with moral rights? Emphatically no! And we do not say this merely because they may have—as is only too often the case—reduced themselves to their present state by self-indulgence, but because, no matter what the cause of their condition, they are incapable of exercising duties toward the State and therefore the State ceases to have the same duties toward them as heretofore, and is consequently not bound to treat them as moral entities. 2. It is claimed that on recovery from their state they have equal rights with any sound and healthy man to beget children; and this, be it noted, solely on the ground that the exercise of this right may be necessary for their attainment of the Kingdom of heaven. But let no one imagine that such people will beget sound children. It is a well-known fact that even the most temporary aberration may leave its traces on offspring.

Furthermore, who proves too much proves nothing. But would it not follow from the argument on pp. 6-7 that a man could not submit to this operation even to save his life? A false conclusion; therefore presumably false premises.

But the most serious feature of the article can hardly have escaped the attention of priests for whom the question of "race-suicide" is a burning one. For it seems to us that the data furnished in the article lead inevitably to a conclusion which Father Rigby would presumably reject, but which has to be faced. Semel admissa liceitate usus matrimonii in casu quo uxor oophorectomiam subiit, num adest ratio negandi licentiam subeundi tali operationi quando proles numero sufficienti jam habetur? En quaestio gravissima! Operatio de qua disputatur est theologice indifferens et non per se mala. Atqui actio in se indifferens ex fine bono justificatur. Finis bonus autem in casu esset evitatio onanismi; constat autem quod peccatum istud nefandum multis durantibus annis patratur a sponsis qui propter rationes (?) sufficientes liberos nonnisi paucos desiderant. En quaestio a theologis nostris pensanda!

NEO-SCHOLASTICUS.

DE VASECTOMIA.

Idearum collisu salit lux
atque veritas.

I.

IN articulo meo "De Vasectomia," mense Julii ab ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW edito, liceitatem vasectomiae sustinebam contra R. De Becker, I.U.D.: quia rationes ab Ill. Dom. allatas suadentes mihi non videbantur, cum (1) mutilatio gravis non solum ad salvandam vitam individui, sed etiam pro bono communitatis fieri possit; et cum (2) homo qui vasectomiae subiiciendus videtur non simpliciter *innocens*, sed societati *nocivus* dicendus sit.

In eodem numero (ECCL. REV., July) edebatur articulus a R. P. E. Rigby, O.P. scriptus contra vasectomiae liceitatem. Pars istius articuli de qua[1] nunc aliqua verba dicere volo, nempe illiceitas vasectomiae prout a potestate civili peractae, sic resumi potest: Finis ad quem volunt medici vasectomiam ordinare, videlicet evitatio degeneratorum, est omnino licitus. Medium ad finem, nempe vasectomia a potestate civili peracta, esset licitum quid si in quaestionem veniret solum *jus naturale* individui, quia istud jus cedere debet juri quod habet societas ne nascantur defectivi infantes. Attamen *simpliciter illicita* dicenda est vasectomia quia a Statu peragi nequit quin violetur *jus spirituale* individui. Etenim in conflictu jurium ordinis diversi, spiritualis nempe et temporalis, minus jus (scilicet jus temporale societatis) cedere debet majori (juri spirituali individui).

Quid de isto novo quaestionis adspectu circa liceitatem vasectomiae?

[1] Ista de vasectomiae liceitate quaestio est tam extensa et tot adspectus praebet ut, claritatis causa, melius esse judicavi nonnisi unum punctum hoc in articulo tractare. Amplius, declaro hanc non esse meam intentionem ut omnimodam liceitatem vasectomiae affirmem. Propter illam praecise multiplicitatem considerationum quae circa istam quaestionem fieri possunt, accidere potest ut una vel alia sit quam non attenderim et quae illiceitatem dictae operationis probet. Hoc in casu evidenter applicandum esset principium: "Bonum ex integra causa, malum ex quocumque defectu". Id solum quod intendi in meis articulis est demonstrare liceitatem vasectomiae contra rationes ab aliis auctoribus usque nunc in ECCL. REV. allatas, cum istae rationes non mihi probentur. Si contra liceitatem vasectomiae alia nova dentur argumenta, tunc secundum istorum argumentorum valorem judicanda erit quaestio.

Diversimode responderi potest. (1). Non est admittendum quod in quocumque casu jus temporale unius semper cedere debeat juri spirituali alterius. Cfr. S. Alphonsum, Cap. II de Matri., Dub. II, Certum est 3°. Ut ergo demonstraretur illicita vasectomia, deberet probari assertum auctoris, jus nempe Status, quod dicitur temporale, necessario cedere juri spirituali hominis ad actum coniugalem. Hoc enim, si doctrinam S. Alphonsi sequamur, nullo modo probatur simplici affirmatione: jus ad copulam esse remedium concupiscentiae; neque principio: Societas propter hominem, et non homo propter societatem. (2) Illiceitas copulae post vasectomiam non sufficienter ab auctore probatur saltem pro iis qui ante operationem erant matrimonio iuncti. Opinio contraria potest optime sustineri secundum principium generale quod " impotentia superveniens non reddit illicitam copulam."

Sed haec materia essent plurium articulorum. Arguam nunc transmittendo non concedendo sive illiceitatem copulae post vasectomiam, sive principium, " Jus temporale Status, tamquam validiori, juri spirituali hominis ad copulam cedere debet," et demonstrare conabor (1) in conflictum venire jura non diversi ordinis (temporalis nempe et spiritualis) sed ejusdem ordinis; (2) in isto conflictu, jus hominis spirituale juri societatis cedere debere.

I.

His positis, videndum est ante omnia de natura jurium quae in conflictum venire dicuntur.

Secundum R. P. Rigby, jus *spirituale* individui, in nostra quaestione, est " jus respiciens finem ultimum hominis, actum procreativum vero tanquam medium ad hunc finem conducens, in quantum videlicet est unicum legitimum concupiscentiae remedium, quod quidem remedium saepe saepius ita necessarium est homini ut illo ablato vitam honestam ducere vix valeat." Et hoc jus optime quidem *spirituale* vocatur cum respiciat animam, partem spiritualem hominis.

Ex alia parte, jus Societatis, quod in § III jus *temporale* vocatur, est jus quod habet Societas ad impediendum ne infantes procreentur degenerati. Et ex § I, istud jus in eodem ordine poni potest ac jus naturale hominis filios generandi.

Sed quidnam significat "jus naturale" in sententia R. P. Rigby?

Cum ex una parte *spirituale* stricto sensu accipiatur, uti nunc diximus, et cum ex alia oppositionem ponat inter "jus naturale" et "jus spirituale", iste terminis "naturale" evidenter sensu stricto sumi nequit, cum nulla sit oppositio inter naturale et spirituale stricto sensu sumpta quando agitur de homine. Si termini "naturale" et "spirituale" stricto sensu sumpti applicarentur bruto, tunc utique adesset oppositio inter utrumque: a "natura" enim bruti omnino excluditur "spiritus." Sed quando homini applicantur, non solum non excluditur, sed eccontra in "natura" hominis omnino includitur "spiritus." Et consequenter jura "naturalia" hominis includunt etiam jura eius "spiritualia" quae ipsam naturam humanam sequuntur.

Ergo in ista expressione "jus naturale," "naturale" alio sensu quam stricto sumi debet. Et praecise secundum sensum ex tenore totius articuli resultantem, R. P. Rigby sumit "naturale" pro "materiali," pro respondente "parti materiali" hominis, uti "spirituale" "parti spirituali" respondet. Tunc utique est oppositio in homine inter "naturale" hoc sensu et "spirituale," inter "jura naturalia" et "jura spiritualia."

Ad "jura naturalia" hoc sensu revocantur jura fortunae, possessionis, sanitatis, etc., omnia quae directam ad corpus hominis relationem habent.

Ad "jura spiritualia" omnia jura quae directe ad animam se referunt.

Hac divisione et oppositione tali modo accepta, R. P. Rigby ponit inter "jura naturalia" jus hominis ad actum procreativum "in quantum respicit fructus omnes temporales exinde obtinendos," necnon jus quod habet Societas in actum generativum hominis privati.

Ex eo optime sequitur (illo "transeat" de quo supra facto) quod si hoc jus Societatis in conflictum venit cum hominis jure ad actum generativum in quantum ut "spirituale" consideratur, jus Societatis, utpote inferioris ordinis, juri hominis spirituali cedere debet.

Sed ad veritatem rei quod attinet, num jus Societatis per respectum ad actum generativum "jus materiale" (naturale,

sensu R. P. Rigby) dici debet? Nonne potius inter "jura spiritualia vero sensu" collocandum est? — Etenim bonum Societatis quod in discrimen adducitur ab istis hominibus qui vasectomiae subiiciendi dicuntur, estne bonum "materiale" vel bonum "spirituale?"

Loquendo de actu generativo non "spiritualiter," in quantum est remedium concupiscentiae, sed solum "materialiter" considerato, per respectum nempe ad effectus temporales, maxima est, uti patet, imo specifica differentia inter actus generativos, necnon inter eorum effectus, prouti ab homine fiunt vel a bruto. Id quod est effectus generationis in bruto est animal simpliciter: generatur brutum. Actus autem generativi humani effectus non est corpus solum animale, sed est homo, ens nempe materiale simul et spirituale.

Unde malo, quod ex effectu actus generativi humani societati provenire potest, duplex fons assignanda est: (1) Valetudo simpliciter physica infantis generati; (2) character moralis quem infans iste haereditate acquiret. Societatis ergo bonum correspondens, quod degenerati generatio in periculum adducit, dici nequit bonum simpliciter "materiale," corpus vel temporale quid solum respiciens, uti casus esset si ageretur de bruti generatione; sed dici debet bonum "morale," cum in causa sit interesse morale Societatis cuius destructioni adlaborabit pessimus character moralis degenerati.

Et de facto, id praecise quod periculo Societati est, id quod affertur tanquam ratio vasectomiam justificans, non est tam pessima valetudo corporea istorum individuorum degeneratorum quam illorum innata, haereditaria corruptio moralis quae minatur se extendere in gremio Societatis, et quotidie fructus suos affert, omnia civium jura moralia nihili faciens. Ergo jus Societatis praeservandi istud bonum sociale quod periclitatur dici nequit jus "materiale," ac si bonum, objectum juris, solum materiale esset, respiciens solum corpus, solam conservationem physicam speciei aut materialem solam prosperitatem hominis; sed jus "morale" dicendum est cum respiciat bonum totius hominis, bonum animae pariter ac bonum corporis.

Rursus inter istud jus "morale" Societatis praeservandi speciem humanam a degeneratione et jus "spirituale" hominis utendi actu legitimo conjugali tanquam remedio concupis-

centiae, nullo modo est illa differentia ordinis quam supponebat R. P. Rigby in suo argumento. Utrumque enim respicit bonum animae, unius vel multorum. Differentia est solum in modo quo utrumque se habet ad illud animae bonum.

Sequens modus videtur solus qui possibilis remaneret salvandi istam differentiam ordinis inter jus Societatis et jus individui per respectum ad actum conjugalem (differentia quae omnino requiritur ut stet argumentum allatum). Deberent termini sumi hoc modo: "Naturale" stricte, prouti sonat; "Spirituale" pro "Supernaturali," hac ratione nempe cum homo ad finem supernaturalem pervenire debeat, medium ad hunc finem obtinendum, i. e. vitatio peccati per actum conjugalem, supernaturale dicendum est.

Sed facile responderetur hoc non probari intentam differentiam ordinis. Etenim jus ad actum generativum est jus naturale quod immediate naturam hominis sequitur, et jus ad vitandum peccatum concupiscentiae per actum legitimum procreativum est jus pariter naturale, quia etiam abstrahendo ab elevatione ad statum supernaturalem, homo tenetur naturalique jure uti potest ad peccatum vitandum.

Illud jus ergo supernaturale dici non potest nisi eo modo quo aliqua naturalia animam respicientia possunt et debent dici supernaturalia propter eorum ordinationem ad finem hominis ultimum qui de facto est supernaturalis. Sed tunc evidenter etiam Societatis bonum naturale spirituale de quo supra, debet pari modo dici supernaturale. Illa enim mala quae praevenit vasectomia sunt non in ruinam quamcumque individuorum ad Societatem pertinentium, sed etiam in ruinam eorum aeternam, in quantum destructio morum honestarum habet damnationem aeternam animae tanquam immediatam consequentiam uti patet. Et Societas civilis etiamsi directe sit ad felicitatem temporalem individuorum, tamen est ad istam prouti directam ad aeternam: et haec est ratio cur Societas civilis non potest a Religione abstrahere et athea esse, omninoque tenetur ad removendum, in quantum potest, id quod sese felicitati aeternae subditorum opponit, ad destruendos malos mores, ad veram Religionem fovendam, etc.

Ergo jus "naturale" Societatis et jus "spirituale" hominis in eodem ordine esse videntur cum ex utraque parte agatur de bono spirituali, de bono animae, de felicitate non solum temporali sed etiam aeterna.

II.

Negata differentia ordinis inter jus individui ad actum conjugalem, remedium concupiscentiae, et jus Societatis conservandi moralitatem in sinu suo, non statim exinde sequitur licitum esse Societati actum conjugalem alicui impedire. Stat enim principium universale: "Non est faciendum malum ut eveniat bonum." Si ergo in se malum est alicui subtrahere istud concupiscentiae remedium, nunquam hoc erit faciendum etiam ad Societatis moralitatem salvandam. Quaeritur ergo utrum intrinsece malum sit aliquem privari jure quod possidet ad legitimum actum conjugalem in quantum est concupiscentiae remedium?

Ratio propter quam hoc intrinsece malum videri posset est ratio allata a R. P. Rigby: Omnis homo suum finem ultimum attingere debet et intrinsece malum est illum privari medio ad hunc finem obtinendum necessario. Sed "istud medium (actus conjugalis) est unicum legitimum concupiscentiae remedium, quod quidem saepe saepius ita est necessarium ut illo ablato vitam honestam ducere vix valeat."

Si verum esset actum conjugalem esse "unicum legitimum concupiscentiae remedium"; tunc utique concludendum foret hominem privari isto unico remedio esse intrinsece malum, cum omnino teneatur ad peccatum vitandum. Sed ita res non se habet: Actus conjugalis est solummodo unum ex mediis quae ad vitandum peccatum et sic ad vitam aeternam attingendam adhiberi possunt; et de facto multi sunt qui concupiscentiam vincunt sine remedio isto. Ergo, saltem sic in genere, nequit dici actus conjugalis "unicum legitimum remedium concupiscentiae," vel etiam "medium necessarium ad sedandam concupiscentiam."

Et ad hoc ut difficultas totam vim suam habeat, quaestio restringi debet ad certam individuorum categoriam, inter quos illi computantur qui vasectomiae subiiciendi viderentur, ad categoriam nempe eorum quibus actus conjugalis est medium *moraliter* necessarium ad concupiscentiam legitime sedandam.

Estne intrinsece malum tales homines privari jure suo ad legitimum actum conjugalem?—Responsio negativa plurimode evidens apparet.

Ante omnia, cum ista "moralis necessitas" non sit "im-

possibilitas," isti homines simpliciter possunt, adjutorio Dei supplente, tentationes concupiscentiae superare sine remedio actus conjugalis. Ergo cum privatio talis remedii evidenter neque in se ipsa sit peccatum, neque necessitet hominem ad peccatum, dici non potest intrinsece mala.

Insuper a legitimitate praxis argui potest ad legitimitatem principii in praxim adducti. Sed omnis homo, etiam ille cui actus conjugalis remedium est moraliter necessarium, potest voluntate propria renuntiare juri suo ad istum actum conjugalem et castitatem vovere.

Amplius potest homo, contra voluntatem suam, privari, propter reatum, jure suo ad copulam, uti patet in conjuge qui, propter incestum, lege ecclesiastica privatur jure debitum petendi.[2]

Imo Status, in casu qui quotidie occurrit, aliquos homines privat, sinon directe jure suo ad actum conjugalem, saltem possibilitate illo jure utendi sive per longum tempus sive etiam per totam vitam. Agitur nempe de illis qui, propter reatum, in carceribus vel ergastulis detinentur. Dicendumne erit istos nullo motu concupiscentiae a prima die ingressus in carcerem jam amplius agitari? Nonne spirituale jus habent ad concupiscentiam sedandam per actum conjugalem qui eis moraliter necessarius esse potest eodem modo ac aliis? Vel dicendumne est Status ad hoc ut illos in carcere retineat nullum jus habere, ex eo quod aeternae saluti suae tales individui sufficienter providere non possunt? Haec conclusio jure meritoque videretur nova in re morali et non credo multos esse auctores qui hanc sustinerent.

His omnibus videtur sufficienter probari assertio nostra, nempe "aliquem hominem privari jure suo ad actum conjugalem legitimum non esse intrinsece malum."

Unde quaeritur finaliter utrum Status possit necne, ratione boni moralis publici, hominem isto jure suo privare, vasectomiae illum subiiciendo? Et respondendum videtur affirma-

[2] "Si non voto, sed sola lege ecclesiastica ratione incestus prohibetur (quis a debito petendo), ratio propriae incontinentiae—si periculum in mora est, nec brevi peti potest dispensatio—causa est, cur probabiliter debitum conjugale petere possit." (Lehmkuhl). Dicitur *probabiliter petere possit*, quia cum agatur de lege ecclesiastica poenali, *probabile* est quod in periculo magno incontinentiae, spiritus legis non sit tali modo poenam urgere. Sed, absolute loquendo, posset urgere uti implicite affirmant auctores qui hanc sententiam "probabilem" solummodo et non "certam" tenent.

tive. Etenim, secundum rationes a R. P. Donovan allatas necnon optimam dissertationem hac de re in § I a R. P. Rigby traditam, maximi momenti est pro Societate impedire hanc extensionem nunc vigentem individuorum degeneratorum. Ergo motivum boni publici est omnino sufficiens ad legitimandum vasectomiae finem. Alia ex parte, demonstravimus jura quae in re nostra in conflictum veniunt esse ex utroque campo jura moralia, jura spiritualia, animam spectantia, sive animam unius individui, sive animas multorum in Societate; et consequenter si unum jus cedere debet, erit jus privati hominis coram jure totius Societatis.

Nulla ergo videtur adesse ratio cur Potestas Civilis non possit vasectomiam certos degeneratos privare possibilitate recurrendi legitime ad actum conjugalem, etiamsi hic consideretur tanquam remedium concupiscentiae, eodem modo ac legitime illo actu conjugali privat carcere detentos. Inter utrumque casum enim videtur, quoad hoc, adesse paritas.

N. B.—Possemus etiam ad hominem arguere negando, ex ipsius R. P. Rigby dictis, ipsum suppositum ejus argumentationis. Sic enim in articulo proponitur argumentum:

Homo habet jus spirituale "respiciens ultimum finem hominis, actum procreativum vero tanquam medium ad hunc finem conducens, in quantum videlicet est unicum legitimum concupiscentiae remedium, quod quidem remedium saepe saepius ita necessarium est homini ut illo ablato vitam honestam ducere vix valeat. Actus igitur procreativus nonnullis hominibus, est, vel saltem potest esse, fere necessarius ad ipsorum salutem.

"Porro, omnium jurium hic in terris existentium maximum est jus hominis ad ea quibus indiget ad salutem consequendam.

"Si igitur jus 'spirituale' hominis incompossibile videtur cum quolibet jure societatis, istud, non illud, alteri tanquam juri validiori cedere debet."

Major valet "unice" si homines de quibus agitur (illi nempe quibus applicanda videretur vasectomia) verum peccatum concupiscentiae committere possunt; secus enim nullo modo salus animae eorum periclitaretur neque posset dici actus procreativus "medium necessarium" ad peccatum vitandum et animam salvandam.

Sed nonne applicandum est parentibus degeneratis id quod R. P. Rigby de prole degenerata affirmat? "Cum morbus non sit nisi malum physicum, proles cui corpus debilissimum aeque ac proles sana valet Deo servire. Immo, absolute loquendo hoc verificatur et in prole ad crimina proclivi; nam proclivitas qua ea proles afficitur, non est nisi materialiter mala, et crimina si quae patraverit, certe non erunt perfecte—et forsitan nullo modo erunt—voluntaria, proindeque saltem gravis et forte omnis peccati erunt expertia, Deusque optimum non expectabit ab eo cui optimum non dedit."

Ergo crimina (etiam actus contra castitatem) degeneratorum sunt saltem non gravia et forsitan omnis peccati expertia. Si propter defectum voluntarii nequeunt peccare degenerativi, quomodo actus procreativus erit ipsis "medium necessarium" ad peccatum vitandum et animam salvandam"? In talibus individuis non potest dici actus conjugalis medium salutis, et consequenter, si vasectomiae subjiciantur, privabuntur "jure naturali ad filios procreandos," sed nullo modo privabuntur "medio ad salutem sive utili sive a fortiori necessario."

Rueret ergo argumentatio R. P. Rigby de illiceitate vasectomiae. Sed, uti dixi, nihil est nisi argumentum ad hominem, et ei nullam veritatem objectivam attribuo, quia non est admittendum degeneratos non esse capaces propter voluntarii defectum, peccatum committendi. Si enim actus eorum boni sufficienter voluntarii sunt ut sint etiam moraliter boni, uti R. P. Rigby admittit, cur eorum actus mali non possent esse sufficienter voluntarii ut malitiam moralem participent?

Antequam finem ponam isti discussioni, pauca verba addere volo de abusibus qui, secundum fautores illiceitatis vasectomiae, necessarii et propemodum infiniti consecuturi essent affirmationem liceitatis dictae operationis.

Omnino notandum est in disputatione ista agi de veritate objectiva rei: utrum in se sit licita vel illicita vasectomia? Et cognitio istius veritatis nihil habet videndum cum abusibus vasectomiae in praxi. Non dicimus vasectomiam licitam esse in quocumque casu, sed solum in casibus necessitatis ab hominibus prudentibus determinandis secundum regulas morales. Et si hoc fit, nullus erit abusus.

Quaestionem ponere liceat: A quibusnam personis venient

abusus in re vasectomiae? Num venient ab illis qui, conscientiae suae consulere volentes expectant solutionem quaestionis de liceitate vel illiceitate istius operationis ut sciant quid possunt agere vel non agere? Evidenter non. Abusus ab aliis venient qui, parum vel nihil curantes de morali, de conscientia, et sic porro, vasectomiae operam dabunt prouti voluptas, proprium interesse, vel voluntas dictabit, nihil attendentes ad liceitatem vel illiceitatem istius operationis. Ergo solutio, etiam affirmans liceitatem vasectomiae, nullo modo apta est ad generandos dictos abusus qui ab alia prorsus causa dependent. Sed, supposito quod de facto a theologis admittatur liceitas vasectomiae, personae honestae inter eos qui a Statu talium rerum curam habent, poterunt efficaciter publicum bonum, secundum semper leges prudentiae et moralis, procurare quin suam conscientiam laedant. Quaerenda est simpliciter veritas, et si licita est vasectomia, haec liceitas est omnino declaranda, atque a solutione vera nullus deterrendus est suggestione istius phantasmatis vani innumeros abusus ab ipsa veritate pullulantes imaginationi depingentis.

TH. LABOURÉ, O.M.I.

San Antonio, Texas.

THE STORY OF A MODERN CAPUCHIN.

IV.

FATHER MARIE-ANTOINE, who had led so many pilgrimages to Lourdes and other sanctuaries, made two personal pilgrimages to Rome, where his uncle, Frère Floride, was procurator-general of the Brothers of the Christian Schools and postulator of the cause of their founder, St. John Baptist de la Salle, though he did not live to witness the fruition of his labors. He went barefoot, *en vrai pèlerin,* to St. Peter's to venerate the shrine of the Apostles; was one of thirty thousand pilgrims who made the Way of the Cross in the Colosseum; was present at the canonization of the Japanese martyrs; was one of three or four hundred received in general audience by Pope Pius IX, as well as of a number

of French priests who had a special audience of that saintly Pontiff; and visited the principal sanctuaries in Rome, particularly those associated with St. Francis. The canonization of St. Germaine, the little shepherdress of Pibrac, to whom he cherished a special devotion, at once personal and patriotic, drew him a second time to the Eternal City in 1867. The little shepherds and shepherdesses of Mount Cenis, whom he encountered on his way across the Alps, and with whom he said the rosary as he walked alongside them while they were leading their flocks, edified him by their conversation. "Father," said one of them in sufficiently intelligible French, "I was born on Mount Cenis; in all my life I have known only these mountains, and I don't envy anybody anything in the world. My happiness is to pray, to go to Communion, and to tend my flocks. What is there, in fact, on earth? To be born, to suffer, and to die; that's our whole life in this world; which is only a journey, a passage to heaven. Pray for me, Father, you who have the happiness to offer the Holy Sacrifice and receive Communion every day." At Turin he met and embraced a kindred spirit in Louis Veuillot.[1] Needless to say with what emotions he saw Assisi for the first time: how he fell on his knees at the sight of the dome of St. Mary of Angels and the buttresses of the Sagro Convento, took off his well-worn sandals and walked barefoot over scenes sanctified by the footprints, blood, and tears of the seraphic saint. From Assisi he went to Foligno, where he venerated the body of the Blessed Angela, and then to Loreto, where he said Mass at the altar of the Santa Casa, and on his knees made the round of that sanctuary, which further deepened his devotion to Our Lady.

As a Toulousian and a son of St. Francis he rejoiced in the

[1] After reading Veuillot's *Vie de Jésus*, he urged him to write, as the complement of that beautiful book, "the life of the man who was His living copy on earth and almost like His new incarnation, whose life, by its striking and providential conformities with that of Jesus, is incontestably the most marvelous and the most supernatural of all the marvelous, superhuman, and supernatural, lives of the saints, who are the glory of the Church and humanity." He traced the outline and suggested the title: "Life of St. Francis of Assisi, renewing the Life of Jesus". It is greatly to be regretted that the great Catholic writer, who was such a consummate master of style and had all the necessary qualifications, did not leave us a book, which would certainly be a masterpiece, worthy of the subject and the author.

triumphs of St. Germaine, whom he called, "*sa douce petite sœur.*" He was standing under the portico of St. Peter's, between the equestrian statues of Constantine and Charlemagne, when Pius IX advanced, borne majestically on his throne, blessing his children, and preceded by more than five hundred bishops; a spectacle he likens to the Invisible Head of the Church, borne on the clouds to bless the good and confound the wicked.[2] People had flocked in crowds to Rome that year not only for the canonization of the shepherdess of Pibrac, but likewise to glorify the Fisherman of Galilee. A tridium in honor of St. Germaine was celebrated at St. Louis-des-Français, three days after the Petrine panegyrics, and another at the Cathedral of Toulouse. Père Marie-Antoine's zeal and enthusiasm found ample and congenial scope for their exercise; and he always spoke of those never-to-be-forgotten days of 1867 in terms of ecstatic delight. In 1877 a statue of St. Germaine in the Place Saint-Georges was unveiled, but it was afterwards removed from its pedestal by those irreligious and unpatriotic Frenchmen who have proscribed the monks and overthrown the Cross. He had another staue of her erected in the chapel of the Little Sisters of the Poor at Poitiers, and a similar monument was raised by the Toulouse Capuchins near their Convent; while in 1898 one of the crosses brought from Jerusalem by the pilgrimage to the Holy Land was erected in Pibrac, the reliquary of St. Germaine borne on the shoulders of priests and laymen preceding it. Père Marie-Antoine was then bending under the weight of half a century of labor, his face furrowed with deep wrinkles. Wherever he went, giving missions, he proclaimed the praises of St. Germaine; her humility and simplicity furnishing an inexhaustible theme for sermons, lectures, and exhortations. No name, except that of St. Anthony of Padua, was more frequently on his lips.

St. Anthony, in his eyes, personified all that was poetic and picturesque in the Franciscan legend. The embodiment of the Franciscan spirit, the eldest son of St. Francis in the order of distinction if not in the order of time, ennobled by the Crusader blood, the blood of Christian heroes, which

[2] *Le Concile et l'Infallibilité*, p. 98.

flowed through his veins, he was still more ennobled by the halo of sanctity, shown forth to the world in the miraculous marvels which gained for him the name of the wonder-worker of Padua. Leo XIII called him "the saint of the whole world"—*il Santo di tutto li mondo*—and Père Marie-Antoine greatly helped to make him more and more known by propagating devotion to him far and wide. One of the chief methods of propagation was the work of "St. Anthony's Bread," begun in a back shop in Toulon by Mlle. Louise Bouffier—a work characteristically Franciscan in its simplicity and directness, involving, besides the distribution of food to the poor, the exercise of the theological virtues. He first heard of it in 1892, two years after it was started. He at once put himself in communication with the pious originator and published in the *Semaine Catholique* of Toulouse, a letter detailing the work which he received from her. The result was that, in place of being local and almost private, the devotion became widespread and public. Letters and and money for the purchase of bread poured in upon Mlle. Bouffier who, in 1892, received 5,943 francs in thanksgiving for favors received through the intercession of St. Anthony, which enabled her to provide food for twelve hundred old men and orphans. This expansion of the devotion fired the enthusiasm of the good Capuchin who wrote to M. Jouve, the interesting chronicler of the proceedings in the back shop: "Who would have thought, dear friend, that at the close of such a guilty century, in the midst of this universal disorder and our dense darkness, God would cause this beautiful ray of sunlight to dazzle our eyes, that in the midst of a deluge of so many evils He would make this beautiful rainbow appear—the work of Bread for the Poor! Truly the finger of God is there!" On 9 December, 1893, returning from Lerino, after preaching a retreat for the Cistercians, he visited for the first time the humble back shop, transformed into an oratory, the scene of many marvels which he unceasingly made known wherever he went. It was early in the morning. Mlle. Bouffier and her co-workers met him at the railway station, heard his Mass, received Communion at his hands, and then accompanied him to the oratory. When he opened the poor box it contained, in gold and notes,

239 francs and 80 centimes, the receipts from the previous night. They knelt before the saint's statue to return thanks, when the postman handed in a registered letter containing notes for fifty francs for some favor received. There were nine other letters, each containing from five to ten francs. This was at seven o'clock in the morning, and there were four deliveries every day. He admired the confidence, disinterested zeal, and Christian sentiments of Mlle. Bouffier, who, far from wishing to monopolize the work, desired nothing so much as its extension. "Ah!" he often exclaimed, "if this devotion of the bread of the poor were established in every city, it would be the salvation of France, for charity covers a multitude of sins." With this end in view he hastened to bring out his pamphlet, *The Great Glories of St. Anthony of Padua*, which had an immense circulation, more than half a million copies being printed in a few months. Soon every pious person learned to know St. Anthony: he was talked of everywhere; his statue was placed in every church; and in every part of the world abundant alms were collected for supplying bread to the poor. Periodicals to propagate the movement, notably the *Echo de Saint-François et de Saint Antoine* in Toulouse, to which Père Marie-Antoine was the principal contributor, were issued. Writing, however, did not satisfy him; he preached St. Anthony wherever he went, he became St. Anthony's traveller, traversing all France, north, south, east, and west. From every place came requests to erect and bless statues of the saint and to establish the work of St. Anthony's Bread. Applying to it the words, *O admirabile Commercium!* he told the story of this miraculous propagation in the Alhambra at Bordeaux, which became the centre of the work, and to which he went for several years in succession to confirm and consolidate it, attracting crowds eager to hear its history from one who had become its apostle, particularly the aged and poor whom he one day led through the streets of the city proclaiming in a song that, through charity and devotion to St. Anthony, the social question was already solved. At Poitiers, where he established the devotion, the amount dropped into the poor-box at the foot of St. Anthony's statue in the Church of St. Porchaire in one year, from May, 1893 to May, 1894, reached a total of 15,000 francs.

As we have seen, he was early drawn to devotion to St. Anthony, his name-saint, and he never missed an opportunity of drawing other hearts to him. For the basilica of Saint-Sernin, in Toulouse, where the great Franciscan wonder-worker preached and performed miracles, he procured from the church of Cuges in Provence a relic of his illustrious patron's skull, translated with solemn ceremonial on Sunday, 14 June, 1891. Some time before that he had gone on a pilgrimage to Padua, where he coöperated in restoring to its pristine prestige the cult of St. Anthony with Dom Locatelli who, encouraged by Leo XIII, had founded an Antonine Academy from which issued a learned review devoted to the study of the saint's works, the sources of his history, and the works of art all over the world which owed their origin to this cult. Under the title *The Saint of Our Epoch* he wrote a booklet in furtherance of devotion to his patron.

But the new centres of this devotion did not cause him to forget the ancient ones, particularly the celebrated grottoes of Brive, sanctified of old by the sojourn of the Franciscan thaumaturgist. After Brive the famous place of pilgrimage in his honor is the church of Cuges, midway between Marseilles and Toulon, to which Cardinal Guy de Montfort made a gift of the saint's skull in 1350, having in that town been miraculously cured by St. Anthony of a malady which placed his life in danger. When preaching in the Friars' chapel at Marseilles, Père Marie-Antoine organized a pilgrimage to venerate the precious relic. He was also at Padua on 24 February, 1893, when they kept the feast of the Holy Tongue. "Nowhere," he says, "have I seen a saint so much loved; nowhere have I seen so many pray and pray so well; nowhere have I seen so many men at the foot of the altars, so pious and so recollected! It is a real miracle, and it has lasted for six centuries. I could not, without shedding tears, see pilgrims continually surrounding that tomb. . . . I felt in Padua a happiness I hardly expected: that of being reconciled to humanity. Poor humanity! I see it so often everywhere going adrift! Here, thanks to St. Anthony, it still preserves what I thought forever lost: greatness united to simplicity, and chastity united to affection; here I find it worthy of itself and of God. Here at last I find men in their

place: in the church they are up front; there they pray so well and better than women, and they are always in greater numbers. At the pilgrimage made for the Pope, on the 31st of last January, there were more than nine thousand, and they all received Communion at the venerated tomb: I have been assured that it was the same at all the great pilgrimages." St. Anthony was never absent from his thoughts. "All this night," he wrote to a high Roman personage, " I have dreamt of St. Anthony alone. The joy I felt awoke me, and immediately an idea, which I believe quite holy, quite providential, came into my mind. It is too beautiful but for St. Anthony to have brought it himself from Paradise: it is that of consecrating to him all the Catholic children of the world." He wished the initiative to come from the Holy See; but the Cardinal-Vicar objected that St. Aloysius was already the patron of youth. Père Marie-Antoine then suggested that he should be given the title of special patron of children preparing for their first Communion and guardian of their perseverance, but it was pointed out to him that St. Paschal Baylon was the patron of all Eucharistic devotional works, and consequently of First Communion. He had to content himself with promoting reunions of children at the feet of his favorite saint, consecrating them to him, and preaching little sermons suitable to their understanding which were afterwards published under the title, *Les deux mendicants du divin amour*, in allusion to an apparition of our Lord to St. Anthony.

He loved children and was never so happy as when in the midst of them. This led him to consider deeply and attentively every question affecting home life. For the guidance of parents in the up-bringing of their children he wrote a *Practical Treatise*, very up-to-date and very modern, in which he touches upon all such questions, particularly that of education, the great question of the day in every country, more especially in France where it lies at the root of all social and even political problems which are simply the outgrowth of bad or misdirected education. He inveighs in scathing terms against those parents who entrust their children to godless teachers—tender lambs led to moral slaughter —which he stigmatizes as an enormous crime. Neutrality is

denounced as an absurd, illogical, and criminal invention.[3] The neutral school he discovered already depicted in the words of St. Augustine—*subtilia multa tractantes, ratiocinationes acutissimas concludentes . . . mactare et occidere*—and over the door of such a school should be inscribed "Slaughter-house of souls." He is just as frank and outspoken when indicating what he conceived was faulty in Catholic education as given in France, recommending Catholic teachers to modify their method, to put more strength and virility in their education, to mould the characters of the children so as to fortify them against the dangers that await them on leaving school, to ground their piety on the spirit of sacrifice. Circumstances having brought him into relationship with the superior-general of one of the large institutes that supply Catholic teachers, he took the occasion to open his mind freely on the subject. "The culture of the intelligence in your schools," he wrote, "seems, for some years, to increase to the detriment of that of the heart. They seem to be more solicitous to make the children scholarly than pious and solidly virtuous. Prayer and the catechism have not so much care bestowed on them as writing, arithmetic, geography, etc., and seem to be assigned a secondary position. Here is what I read this very day in a Catholic paper in one of our large French cities: 'Among the good Brothers are some who unfortunately put the certificate of studies in the first place, and the good God and the catechism in the second.'"

This gives us the key to the enigma which has long puzzled many people outside of France. This feeble and faulty education helps to explain the glaring anomaly of a Catholic country, where Catholics enormously preponderate, returning to power again and again men the avowed enemies

[3] The recent action of the French Government in withdrawing cases against school teachers for breaches of the law of neutrality from the jurisdiction of the ordinary courts, shielding with its authority those godless teachers who use their positions to sow the seeds of scepticism in youthful minds—a proceeding which has been described in a joint pastoral of the French hierarchy, representing four cardinals, fifteen archbishops, and sixty-seven bishops, as "the expropriation of the family and the confiscation of the children"—fully justifies the strong language in which the Capuchin missioner denounced this hypocritical neutrality. French parents are compelled to send their children to these schools from their seventh to their thirteenth year and have practically no redress against the teachers who abuse their office.

of religion, under whose rule the Church has suffered such persecution. Such men would be speedily wiped out of political existence in Ireland. The Irish priest who scornfully refused the decoration of the Legion of Honor proffered him by the French Government, showed the different spirit that animates another branch of the same Celtic race. Religion and patriotism have never been and can never be divorced in Ireland; education, permeated with a thoroughly Catholic and national spirit, has tempered and strengthened the *vinculum*. But French Catholics need only look across the Rhine for an object lesson in militant Catholicism. There, by disciplined organization under able leadership, German Catholics have made themselves a power, recognized, reckoned with and respected. They have had to face persecution, too, but they opposed to it a solid, unbroken front; and the greatest European statesman of the nineteenth century suffered defeat at their hands. The ebullient religious enthusiasm, too often as evanescent as the effervescence on champagne, which the Capuchin missioner witnessed in his apostolic journeys through the country, was somewhat superficial and deceptive. It sprang too much from the emotions of the moment, and was not sufficiently rooted in depth of conviction and resoluteness of purpose. "Upon the children he loved so much," says his biographer, "he saw the enemy pounce like the vulture upon its prey. The people, alas! abused and seduced by the phantasmagoria of the words, instruction, progress, and light, let the law which delivered up the souls of their children to godless educators be voted. And this treasure, the most precious of all, was hardly defended. To stop the enemy who recently invaded our churches at the time of the inventories, there were struggles and bloodshed; Catholics faced prison and death. To defend the souls of the children there was not even a fine. And yet, as Père Marie-Antoine said, it was the vital question on which depends the future of individuals, the family, and society. He, at least, was not one of those who remained dumb in presence of the outrage; his voice, ringing as a trumpet alarm, was raised, and with one word he characterized and stigmatized the law—'Satan, schoolmaster!' It was the title of the preface to his little book on education. Don't talk of calumny or exaggeration, it is literally true.

The better to wage war on the catechism, Satan has become a schoolmaster!" [4]

It is not with the sword, like Herod, but with the ferule of the schoolmaster that this modern massacre of the innocents is effected. He traces to the education given in the State schools, which ignore God, the soul, and immortality, the abnormal criminality of French youth. He shows how, once the restraining influences of religion are withdrawn, all the passions are let loose; how the new educational laws are elaborated in the Masonic lodges, where the grand master of the University, who proposed them, had lately said "Religion is no longer wanted in the schools; it is time to free man from all fear of God and death"; how all godless instruction is Satanic instruction, all godless education an immoral education. He does not hesitate to call this law "the crucifixion of Christ in the souls of the children, the greatest crime of the nineteenth century." He opposed it with might and main and refused absolution to parents who sent their children to these schools. He could not understand how one should submit to an unjust law; to him it was *ipso facto* null and void. He did not fear, in such a contingency, to enter into conflict with the authorities. He was once summoned by telephone to answer before the Commissary of Police for interfering with the operations of the divorce law by using his influence to get a man who had divorced his wife and contracted a civil marriage with another woman, to leave the latter and resume cohabitation with the former. When the Commissary talked of respecting the civil laws, he boldly replied: "They are respectable when they themselves respect the laws of God; but when they violate them, they forfeit all right to respect."

It was this love for children, this solicitude for the preservation of the family from all contaminating influences, that aroused in him a holy wrath and made him anathematize in vigorous language a vice which he called "the cancer of France," a vice that dries up the sources of life, and is fast killing the nation, which is committing physical as well as moral suicide. The words Juvenal uses regarding the deca-

[4] *Le Saint de Toulouse*, p. 356.

dent Roman Empire, hastening to its ruin from internal moral rottenness—*saevior armis, luxuria incubit*—might be applied to contemporary France; at least that portion of France which has discarded Christianity and given itself up to unbridled license. Vice has laid a heavier hand upon France than the arms of the conquering Germans. Outraged nature is avenging itself in a diminishing population. Neither war nor pestilence ever made such continuous ravages. "In the midst of peace," comments Père Ernest-Marie,[5] "we are every year losing battles; and France is gradually descending to the rank of a third or fourth-rate European nation. When will it stop its fall? What humiliations await it at the bottom of the ditch toward which it is rushing! All serious minds are now alarmed at it. Philosophers, legislators, and economists are seeking remedies and have only palliatives. Religion alone, with its moral code and its Sacraments, can stop the disease and cure it." Père Marie-Antoine would be no party to a conspiracy of silence on this delicate but vital question, and, despite reproaches and criticisms from adversaries of his method, he continued to denounce this particular vice, but with tact and prudence. In a letter or report written at the request of an eminent bishop he specifies that there was, at least, a third more births in every parish after his missions. He would have wished Rome to lay down for bishops and confessors uniform rules on this subject; which was very difficult, the solution of cases in which the conscience is concerned depending upon a multitude of personal and local circumstances. In default of this he had printed and distributed in large numbers to the clergy, the replies of the Sacred Penitentiary on this important point, and drew up a little moral code, very brief and very clear, touching the duties of married persons, exhorting the curés to give copies of it to those whom they joined in matrimony. One of his letters tells how this practice was adopted in a whole diocese and with excellent results.

His interest in children, particularly of the poorer class, was unflagging. After relieving their material wants, he inquired into the surroundings of those exposed to stagnate in

[5] Op. cit., p. 36.

religious ignorance and contract the vices of the streets. Nothing repulsed him, neither their rags, nor their physical uncleanness, nor the moral misery which had already left its blighting mark on some faces. He was not content with a chance meeting in the street; he made appointments to see them again, and if he had not time to catechize them himself, confided them to some charitable soul. They were so numerous that the orphanages of the district were not sufficient. After some unavailing efforts to meet this need, toward the close of his life Providence placed within his reach, quite near him, a means of obtaining his object in an orphanage in charge of a community of nuns, but it was suppressed at the time of the expulsions in 1903. He had planned the establishment of an agricultural orphanage near the sanctuary of Notre-Dame du Pech de Lavaur, to be called the Seraphic Work of Our Lady of Lourdes, but his death hindered its accomplishment.

An old Capuchin who was several times guardian and provincial and was a missionary companion of Père Marie-Antoine, says: "After long reflection, I have concluded that of all the religious I have known, he came nearest to my ideal of our Seraphic Father. It was chiefly his love of the poor that led me to that conclusion. I do not misappreciate the other virtues he practised to a transcendent degree for more than fifty years, and without ever failing—his spirit of faith, his zeal for souls, his charity toward the companions of his labors, his dominion over his body, all that, and many other things too, differentiated him from the generality of good religious. But to me, his primary and characteristic grace has been his love for the poor. How often I have thought that there is nothing in the world brings man nearer to God and makes him participate so much in the divine action."[6]

This love of the poor, even more than his preaching, made him popular in Toulouse, where beggars, the needy of all sorts, children who wanted bread, men who wanted employment, wives who interceded for their husbands, crowded round him in the streets every time he went out. The parlor of the friary became the great employment bureau of the city.

[6] Father Exupère of Prats-de-Mollo.

When he had just arrived, fatigued after a long journey, there would be ladies of rank who had come in their carriages to ask his prayers, and about fifty poor people trying to stop him in the passage, clutching at his habit. The custom, traditional in the Order, of giving soup to the poor at the Convent was religiously observed, Frère Rufin, a saintly old lay-brother, who had been an artist and had fought at the barricades in Paris in 1848 before he put on the habit, performing this function as a religious act and with a simple-hearted blending of reverence and affection for the poor, very rare in these modern times of mammon worship. The recipients of this charity were often a motley crowd drawn from the submerged tenth, from city slums, and included anarchists, gaol-birds, and rabid enemies of the very religious who fed them. The police often found among them people who were "wanted": Père Marie-Antoine always, but in a different sense. What was to them a trap was to him a net with which he fished for souls. He would talk to them in the patois they understood, nourishing their souls as well as their bodies, until men who habitually lived outside of law and religion, were moved to conversion. Orphanages, dispensaries, and hospitals were every moment beseiged with applications from him on behalf of his numerous protégés. Money multiplied in his hands as in those of the Curé of Ars. "It is the consolation of my life," he said, "to see that my vow of poverty, far from hindering me from relieving the poor, has enabled me to do it more abundantly. When I became a religious, it was one of my regrets, it was a great weight on my heart; but God has provided and, since my profession, I have been able to employ hundreds of thousands of francs in this work." Faithful to his Rule, he did not administer this money himself, but through the medium of Madame Guiraud, a holy widow of the Côte-Pavée, a superioress of the Third Order in Toulouse, and her pious servant, Rosalie Landes. Her house was like a branch convent, to which, with their tickets or notes, there daily proceeded an interminable procession of poor people, sent by the Capuchin. His heart was always drawn toward the poor in every city, town, or village in which he preached. If, in passing through the country, he chanced to meet a wagon of mountebanks or

gypsies, he would stop and talk to them to see whether their children had been baptized, whether they knew their catechism, and had made their first Communion. In M. Lafeuillade, the founder of two *œuvres*, one aiming at the moral uplifting of soldiers and the other of the poor, who made himself a catechist and organized pilgrimages, he found a man after his own heart, with whom he had many points of contact. When his illustrious friend, Mgr. Goux, on one occasion had blessed the table spread for the poor and wanted to lead Père Marie-Antoine to the priests' refectory, the Capuchin said: "What would St. Francis say? My place is here, in the midst of the poor." And he remained and took his meal with them. When the expulsions emptied the convent of its religious, it practically became a branch of the night-refuges of the city, where they continued to distribute soup to the poor at the door, and to all who came vegetables and fruit from their garden to which the liquidator could lay no claim.

He not only resembled St. Francis in his love of the poor, but in many other ways. "Don't do things by halves," wrote M. Izac, the superior of the Toulouse Seminary, to the Abbé Clergues, when the latter was about entering the Capuchin novitiate. "It is necessary to be a perfect religious, or to have nothing to do with it." Lacordaire was of the same mind. "When a Frenchman goes in for being a religious," said the great Dominican, "he goes in for it 'neck and heels.'" Père Marie-Antoine was a religious of this type. "He was a monk from the first hour," says his Capuchin biographer, "a monk from head to foot, a monk to the marrow of his bones, and applied himself with an indefatigable ardor to practise all the characteristic virtues of a son of St. Francis." Of these none is more characteristically Franciscan than poverty, genuine holy poverty, not a counterfeit presentment of it. He often looked back with fond regret to what he called the Rivo-torto of the Côte Pavée, to the poverty of the mean little room in which they would not afterward lodge a domestic; a poverty on a level with that of the deserted hovel near Assisi, on the road from Foligno to Portiuncula, nigh the borders of the winding stream which flowed down from Monte Subazio where St. Francis and his

first companions had hardly room to sit, where they lived on alms and the produce of their labor, and were sometimes reduced to feed on roots. When the Toulouse convent he founded was built, his cell was on the top floor, and he slept on a small straw mattress laid on three boards, his sleep being restricted to a couple of hours. The habit he got at his profession was the only new one he ever received: it was worn until it was threadbare, pieced and repieced; and when it became necessary to renew it, he begged to be allowed to replace it with another old one, selected one the other friars did not want, and, to make it suitable to his height, added at the bottom separate strips and bits of stuff, which made him even more externally like St. Francis whom he already resembled interiorly. It was in this shabby habit he entered cathedral pulpits and drawing-rooms and sat at bishops' tables. His only luggage in travelling was a little black bag, congested with a lot of things packed into it, including an omelette on which he dined *en route*. He was so well known on the railways that he travelled without a ticket; no ticket-collector ever thought of asking him if he had one; and, when they saw him coming toward the line, the train would be stopped to take him up. "Oh! don't be surprised," he would say, "all those employés know me. They see me so often! They are all my children. How many of them I have placed! How many I have married! How many avail of my journeys on the line to make their confession in some corner of the station!" He always travelled in the cheapest coaches, ensconced in a corner where he read his breviary, meditated, or wrote. Quite apostolic and Franciscan, he took no money in his purse. Of the money he was allowed, by dispensation, to receive, he applied none to his personal use; did not buy a newspaper or even a bit of bread when travelling, but waited until he reached his destination, sometimes far off, for refreshments.

In the early epoch of his religious life, the only vehicle he used is what Friars Minor call "St. Francis's carriage": he walked. To go on foot from Marseilles to Toulon or from Toulon to Marseilles was child's play to him. When he was going on a journey he would tell them he was going to harness his two little horses, meaning his sandals. In this way

he went from town to town, and village to village in all the departments in the vicinity of Toulouse. If, later on, he relaxed this practice, it was on account of the urgency and multiplicity of his journeys and the growth of corns on the soles of his feet, from his going about so much on foot. Twenty times he made the tour of France, and went to Italy, Spain, and Jerusalem. His ordinary mode of locomotion in the latter part of his life, when his wearied limbs refused their service, was a cart with a hood over it and an ass harnessed to it, which the people called "Père Marie-Antoine's motor-car."

Although exempted from the offices of the choir, he never absented himself from midnight Matins, however late at night he arrived or however early in the morning he had to start. Père Ernest-Marie, in some of the chapters of his captivating book, gives us graphic glimpses of his inner life. The people regarded him as a saint, and through veneration or, as his biographer calls it, "indiscreet devotion," stealthily cut off pieces of his habit, which at first somewhat angered him, and he rebuked them when he discovered it; but as he grew old, he smilingly let them do as they pleased, only shrugging his shoulders. A Jesuit once, falling into conversation with a Capuchin when travelling, spoke of Père Marie-Antoine as a saint. "Yes, a saint," said the Capuchin, who happened to be the Provincial, "but we don't want too many of his kind." "Oh! as to that, make your mind easy, Father," replied the Jesuit with a touch of fine irony; "there will never be too many Pères Marie-Antoine."

The source of his sanctity was his spirit of prayer, of constant interior recollectedness, habitually dwelling in what St. Catherine of Siena called the cell of the soul. "Continually out of the convent for the needs of his ministry," says a prelate[7] who was for some years his superior in Toulouse, "he never lost the spirit of God, and his fervor suffered no injury." Although the busiest of the community, he was the one who devoted the most time to prayer. When not specially engaged, he was sure to be found in choir before the Blessed Sacrament. In parishes where he preached, he was the first in the church in the morning, the

[7] Mgr. Nardi, Bishop of Thebes, Postulator general.

key of which he got from the sacristan the night before; early comers thought they beheld a phantom when they saw the tall figure erect near a pillar, kneeling in one of the stalls, or oftenest prostrate before the altar, or reciting the five Paters and Aves with his arms extended. His Mass was singularly impressive and edifying. He never ascended the altar without associating with the Holy Sacrifice the Blessed Virgin as co-redemptress of the world. When he met a peasant on the road or was accompanied by a domestic or lay brother to the railway station, he got them to join him in saying the rosary as they proceeded. "Rarely" writes Père Ernest-Marie, "have been found united in one single man overwhelming external works and fervent interior spirit, zeal and prayer, work and rest, the active and the contemplative life. He was asked one day where he made his dwelling, and whether he really had one, he who was always up hill and down dale in search of souls; and he could answer in all truth: 'My dwelling? Where do I make my dwelling, but in the bosom of God.'" Like the Curé of Ars, he longed for solitude, to go into the desert and rest a while. "They always thought the active life was my delight," he writes among his notes; "a great mistake; I have never begun a mission or any work without immediately suffering in my soul, and doing most painful violence to myself. I always hear a voice which says to me as to Martha: 'Sollicitus es et turbaris erga plurima.' Why such an active life as this? Why not take the wings of ecstasy and taste the sweet delights of the contemplative life? Ah! it is because another voice has sounded in the ears of my heart, coming from the Heart of my Divine Master: 'Sitio! Sitio! I want souls! I want souls! I have not made thee My apostle for repose. I have not made thee a soldier for ecstasy! Always keep the trumpet, the sword, and the pen in thy hands! March, march to the conquest of souls. Work and bring Me hearts.'" Some years later he wrote: "Here I am more than ever leading the life of Martha, and my heart would be so glad to find at last that of Mary, of which it feels great need. I dare not manifest the wish to my superiors so long as I do not feel myself physically and morally incapable of working for the salvation of souls, because our Seraphic Father tells us that nothing is preferable to this divine work, and because

I promised the Lord, ever since the day I understood all the perfection there is in accomplishing His holy will, never to manifest the least wish or personal desire, but to let myself be led blindly by His paternal Providence. Behold me then nailed to the cross by conscience, if I was not already long nailed to it by love; I ask the sweet Jesus unceasingly to immolate me thereon Himself, without favor and without mercy, as long as cowardly, selfish nature cries." When he approached a Benedictine, Trappist, or Cistercian monastery, he felt a holy envy of the monks who, far from the tumult and agitation of the world, enjoyed the peace of solitude and the joys of perpetual prayer. "When I saw him in your parlor in Toulouse," wrote a lady, "I was greatly impressed. He spoke of the renovating Word who would show mercy to France, and, with closed eyes, expressed himself at once with so much force and unction that he seemed to be in ecstasy. I imagined he was reading in the heart of the good Saviour, and I dare not breathe for fear of recalling him to himself. Yes, he was a saint. In approaching him, one became better, in listening to him one seemed to hear and see the patriarch of Assisi, or St. John, the beloved disciple, he was so sweetly good, simple, tender, supernaturally inspired, crucified to love, and, according to his own expression, buried alive with Jesus."

All was not sweetness to him: he had at times to taste the *aliquid amari*. He had his share of that joy of the soul which is an inheritance of the *Familia Franciscana*, which abounds in joyful saints from simple Brother Juniper to St. Paschal Baylon and the Blessed Crispin of Viterbo; but, like them, he had his share of trials too; had to suffer persecutions, reproaches, humiliations, and rebuffs. Sometimes bishops and priests were not sparing of adverse criticism; at other times his companion religious and superiors of his own Order complained. "Wherever he went," says his biographer, "he appeared like a living crucifix. Everything about him preached the cross; his patched habit, his wan face, his bare feet, his spent voice; his whole exterior had something inexplicable which was seizing and subduing. When one saw him with his lofty stature, much bent latterly, but making an effort to raise itself, with his expressive and energetic face, his white beard falling down over his chest,

one could not refrain from comparing him to a prophet. Those who saw him, with sombre visage, his arms raised to heaven, breathing sighs and exclaiming in a choking voice, 'Poor France! poor France! They're assassinating her; they're killing her!' took away the impression that the man was suffering a continual martyrdom, as if one had slaughtered his mother before his eyes. Sufferings! Père Marie-Antoine was never for a single instant without bearing the weight of them. Constituted the great consoler of the poor, the sick, and the afflicted, he loaded himself with the burden of all their trials, the long series of which successively passed before his gaze: his great heart felt deeply all the sorrows God gave him to solace. Weeping with those who wept, he afflicted himself with all their woes, he wore himself out in this perpetual contact with the sufferings of others, and he accumulated such a load that he attributed to it the ravages under which his body, however robust, seemed at last to succumb. 'I have borne so many of them,' he said, 'that my shoulders are bent.' 'My life is a martyrdom!' he again exclaimed, alluding to the miseries which appealed to him for succor, too numerous for him to relieve them all." To these sufferings he had many self-imposed austerities in addition to those involved in the strict observance of an austere rule. Often in the presbyteries in which he sojourned was heard the sound of the lash of the discipline. His body counted for nothing in his eyes, and seemed to have lost the sense of pain. One cold November day, entering a friend's house at Puylaurens, he asked for a needle and thread. "Oh! Father," said the mistress of the house, "we shouldn't let you do the sewing. If it's your habit wants repairing, we'll see to that." "No, it's not the habit is torn; but, since you want to sew, here, do it"; and, saying this, he put his foot, horribly frost-bitten, on a chair, showing great cracks which the penetrating cold had laid open. The lady drew back in horror; but the smiling missioner took the needle, stitched the wounds, and went his way rejoicing.

What crosses were his prolonged vigils and night work! "At whatever hour I went to find him at night, to lead him to the railway station or to a sick-call," declared a lay brother, "I never had to awaken him; I always found him reading or writing, a miserable candle near him, for he had not even a

lamp." This denial of sleep was a continuous penance. He thought it useless to throw himself on a bed for one or two hours, and sometimes spent the night in a chair, working, with an occasional doze. Still with this regimen and this incessant labor he lived to be eighty-two. It is, therefore, very true that penitence does not kill, and that the saints, in mastering their bodies, give them new power of endurance.

Notwithstanding all he suffered, he enjoyed such happiness in religion that, wishful of sharing it with others, he drew into the cloister, which he called the novitiate of heaven, as many as he could, interpreting almost literally the *compelle entrare*. He had a special gift of discerning and deciding vocations, as well as of reading consciences. He recruited such a large number of subjects that some captious critics said he diagnozed a vocation in all his penitents. He had a leaning that way, and did not conceal it. He was afraid that true vocations might be lost in an age like ours, when the world and the devil are so skilful and powerful in making people lax, in withdrawing them from piety, and from the cloister in which it flourishes. "What enlightened and fervent confessor," asks Père Ernest-Marie, "has not felt the need of opposing this tendency and pulling against this current? What obstacles desires of the religious life still meet on the part of families, among whom sentimentality and false delicacy so blunt the will and render souls incapable of any generosity and any sacrifice; on the part even of confessors, too prudent and pusillanimous, who, through calculation or foolish complacency, too easily side with parents, judge according to nature, or hesitate to come to a vigorous decision! It was a great pain to Père Marie-Antoine who thus saw convents depopulated and the sanctuary deserted." At the Eucharistic Congress of Toulouse in 1886, he presented a report on the question of recruiting subjects for the priesthood and the conventual life which he had greatly at heart. In prognosticating a vocation in a penitent, an ordinary confessor risked self-deception: but Père Marie-Antoine relied upon the necessary sorting being done in the novitiate, observing: "If the sower would not cast into the ground the seed that will germinate, he would never sow anything."

He exercised his office of spiritual confessor not only in the confessional but in his voluminous correspondence and

his numerous brochures. In his letters, written *currente calamo* in a stall in the church choir, in the train or while waiting for a train, he still preached, instructed, exhorted: continuing and completing the good work begun in the confessional. His method is epitomized in the title of his pamphlet "Sanctity easy to all." His letters have been compared to those of St. Francis de Sales, whom he resembled not only in his liberty of spirit, breadth of view, and a certain sweet winning way about him, but in his form of expression, full of the charm of poetic imagery and that picturesqueness and piquancy in which French excels, yet withal natural and unstudied. Like him, he preferred the simplicity of the dove to the wisdom of the serpent, and rated a spoonful of honey of higher value than a barrel of vinegar. "He distilled the same balm," says his biographer, "and with the same suavity of touch healed wounds, dilated hearts, enlightened, moved, converted. The burning and seraphic charity with which one felt he was animated communicated itself from place to place and became contagious. There was the secret of the great good it was given to him to effect." Frequent Communion, which he advocated, entered largely into his method of leading souls onward and upward. Long before the decree of Pius X he comprehended and endeavored to realize the desires of the Church in regard to Communion—even Communion to children. "Oh! how I share your views on this subject," wrote a zealous priest to him. "That is what I preach and that is how I succeed, with the grace of our Lord. From the information you are pleased to give me, supported by the authority of your name, I am going to put my hand to the work, to write a new tract, and to preach the Crusade of frequent Communion to children." To one the motive principle of whose action and influence was love, it was easy to understand how his thoughts were centred in the Sacrament of Love and how he strove to direct the thoughts of others toward it. It was love that moulded his own character. It made him irresistible: even the most hardened sinners and most misguided men yielded to its compelling power. Here is one incident of it, related by himself, which shows it: "It was in 1871, in those troublous times! Everything was ablaze; and in the provinces, as well as in Paris, they inflamed to white heat the people against the clergy. I

arrived in Bordeaux by the Bastide station, carrying my habit and walking barefoot. I had to cross the great quay. Now, in the middle of this quay was a group of men of the populace. Were they going to insult me, as they did then everywhere, or let me pass quietly? I saw that it was necessary to show a fair face. I went straight up to them, right into the middle of the group, smiling at everybody, and inquiring my way. That was enough; their faces, at first threatening, became smiling and sympathetic. I had gained a complete victory, and they clasped my hand."

He would cordially embrace, even in the public street, those whom he met. This cordiality, however, cost some of his friends their positions. A magistrate, whom he thus publicly greeted at Montauban, was deprived of his function. The *Semaine Catholique* advised him to embrace all his enemies, the functionaries and persecutors of the religious, as the readiest way of getting rid of them. But generally his friendship boded good, not evil; witness a gendarme, persecuted like himself, denounced and threatened, whose defence he warmly took in hand, found friends who made interest in high quarters for the innocent victim and procured him the Cross of the Legion of Honor, after which he retired to fill an excellent position.

Wherever he went he left behind him not only the reputation of a saint but of the most amiable of men. He made friends in every grade of society. The Catholic élite—M. Belcastel, Louis Veuillot, Leon Harmel—honored him; he received marks of sympathy from the most distinguished prelates; Cardinal Parrochi, Cardinal Vivès y Tuto, and Cardinal Merry del Val corresponded with him, the last-named specially recommending to his prayers the Sovereign Pontiff and the great interests of the Church. He was the object of special affection on the part of Cardinal Desprez; Mathieu took counsel with him in the distribution of his alms; Mgr. Pie, Mgr. Bertréand, and Mgr. de Langalerie often sought to draw him into their dioceses. Pères Caussette, Cros, Secail, and Raynal and Dom du Bourg and Dom Chamard venerated him as a model religious. Age did not cool the ardor of his friendship. It was when already advanced in years he wrote his book, *Sainte Amitié*, which he called the Benjamin of his old age.

His brethren, who loved and venerated him, gave him several marks of their confidence. In the Chapter of 1888 he was nominated Guardian-General and, a little later, Provincial Definitor. The latter office, although it consisted only in advising the Provincial, seemed to him too onerous, and he obtained from the Master-General exemption from every function in the Order. But the Province, wishing to recognize the services of a subject so universally venerated, asked and obtained for him at Rome the title of ex-Provincial. The concession was sent to him on 7 December, 1900, on the occasion of his sacerdotal golden jubilee, the celebration of which was begun in Rome during the Congress of the Third Order. It was signalized by a Latin ode in his honor by the Most Rev. Padre Paole della Pieve; whilst at the celebration in Toulouse the following poetical tribute was paid to him by Père Jean Chrysostôme:

Vous le connaissez bien, l'accent de cette voix,
Lieux bénis qui l'avez entendu mille fois,
Cuges, Quézac, Livron, Verdelais, La Salette,
Toulouse, Montpellier, Aix, et Marseille, et Cette,
Pics de la Sainte-Baume et de Roc-Amadour,
Provence, qui croyais entendre un troubadour;
France, en un mot, qui vois constamment ce grand moine,
Allant fonder partout l'Œuvre de Saint-Antoine;
Tu peux dire son nom, Grotte de Bethléem,
Où sa voix retentit comme à Jérusalem;
Et toi, Rome, où naguère il est venu voir Pierre,
Et toi, ville d'Assise où, couché sur la pierre,
Il basait tendrement le tombeau de François
Et semblait écouter les échos d'autrefois!
Venez, vous qu'il nourrit d'un pain de Providence,
Cœurs désolés qu'il fit renaître à l'espérance,
Affligés qu'il a su consoler et charmer,
Défaillants, demi-morts qu'il a su ranimer;
Et vous les convertis, pécheurs de toutes sortes,
Dont il ressuscita pour Dieu les âmes mortes;
Et vous, orphelinats, hospices et couvents,
Qu'il a peuplés cent fois des cœurs les plus fervents;
Chantez aux Noces d'or de cette illustre moine:
Vivez, vivez toujours, Père Marie-Antoine!

R. F. O'CONNOR.

Cork, Ireland.

Analecta.

ACTA PII PP. X.

MOTU PROPRIO: DE IUREIURANDO CONCEPTIS VERBIS DANDO AB IIS QUI DOCTORES IN SACRA SCRIPTURA SUNT RENUNTIANDI.

Illibatae custodiendae Religionis Nostrae doctrinae animum intendentes, plura superioribus annis providenda ac sancienda curavimus quorum virtute, Decessoris Nostri fel. rec. exempla secuti, tum debitum responsis Sacri Consilii de Re Biblica obsequium firmavimus, tum proprium huiusmodi colendis studiis, aetate hac nostra quam quae maxime gravibus, Institutum condidimus. Quoniam vero non id tantummodo Cordi Nobis est alumnos, ad magisterium contendentes, praesidiis disciplinae consentaneis ita instruere ut scientiam de Re Biblica perfecte calleant et progressionem finitimarum doctrinarum in Sacros libros defendendos apte derivent, sed etiam ut, magisterium assequuti, haustam disciplinam fideliter tradant, scientiamque in discipulorum mentibus sine ulla devii sensus suspicione inserant, idcirco formulam praeterea iurisiurandi praescribendam putavimus, quam candidati ad lauream, antequam Doctoris titulo in Sacra Scriptura donentur,

recitare atque emittere teneantur. Itaque, tum doctrinae Sacrae, tum Magistrorum alumnorumque, tum denique Ecclesiae ipsius securiori bono prospecturi, motu proprio atque ex certa scientia et matura deliberatione, deque Apostolicae Nostrae potestatis plenitudine, praesentium vi, perpetuumque in modum, decernimus, volumus, praecipimus, ut, qui in Sacra Scriptura Doctores sint renuntiandi, iuramenti formulam in hunc, qui sequitur, modum emittant:

"Ego N. N. omni qua par est reverentia me subiicio et sincero animo adhaereo omnibus decisionibus, declârationibus et praescriptionibus Apostolicae Sedis seu Romanorum Pontificum de Sacris Scripturis deque recta earumdem explanandarum ratione, praesertim vero Leonis XIII Litteris encyclicis *Providentissimus Deus* die XVIII Novembris anno MDCCCXCIII datis, nec non Pii X Motu proprio *Praestantia Scripturae Sacrae* dato die XVIII Novembris anno MDCCCCVII, eiusque Apostolicis Litteris *Vineae electae*, datis die VII Maii anno MDCCCCIX, quibus edicitur "universos omnes conscientiae obstringi officio sententiis Pontificalis Consilii de Re Biblica, ad doctrinam pertinentibus, sive quae adhuc sunt emissae, sive quae posthac edentur, perinde ac decretis Sacrarum Congregationum a Pontifice probatis, se subiiciendi; nec posse notam tum detrectatae obedientiae tum temeritatis devitare aut culpa propterea vacare gravi quotquot verbis scriptisque sententias has tales impugnent"; quare spondeo me "principia et decreta per Sedem Apostolicam et pontificiam Biblicam Commissionem edita vel edenda" uti "supremam studiorum normam et regulam" fideliter, integre sincereque servaturum et inviolabiliter custoditurum, nec unquam me sive in docendo sive quomodolibet verbis scriptisque eadem esse impugnaturum. Sic spondeo, sic iuro, sic me Deus adiuvet et haec sancta Dei Evangelia."

Quod vero, documento hoc Nostro, Motu proprio edito, statutum est, id ratum firmumque esse iubemus, contrariis quibuscumque minime obstantibus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum, die XXIX Iunii MCMX, Pontificatus Nostri anno septimo.

PIUS PP. X.

S. CONGREGATIO DE RELIGIOSIS.

De Abbatissis et aliis Praefectis perpetuis extra Italiam.

Cum adhuc perdurent dubia circa extensionem Constitutionis "*Exposcit debitum*," diei 1 Ianuarii 1583 extra Italiam, re, in Plenariis Comitiis Sacrae Congregationis de Religiosis die 3 Iunii 1910 habitis, proposita, omnibus maturissime perpensis, Emi ac Rmi Patres Cardinales declarandum censuerunt: *Servandas esse hac in re extra Italiam regulas et constitutiones a Sancta Sede approbatas et consuetudines immemorabiles; facto verbo cum Sanctissimo.*

Sanctissimus autem Dominus Noster Pius Papa X, in Audientia, die 4 eiusdem mensis Iunii infrascripto Subsecretario concessa, sententiam Emorum Patrum adprobare et confirmare dignatus est. Contrariis quibuscumque minime obstantibus.

Fr. J. C. Card. Vives, *Praefectus.*

L. ✠ S.

Franciscus Cherubini, *Subsecretarius.*

Gregorius XIII in Constitutione "*Exposcit debitum*" statuit, ut *in universa Italia et praesertim in utriusque Siciliae Regnis*, Abbatissae et aliae Monasteriis Praefectae, cuiuscumque Ordinis, non amplius in perpetuum, sed ad triennium tantum eligerentur, quo elapso, iterum et pluries, servata forma in Concilio Tridentino statuta, eligi possent.

S. CONGREGATIO RITUUM.

Super Missa seu Collecta in Anniversario Electionis seu Translationis Episcopi, iuxta Caeremoniale Episcoporum.

Ex Decretis S. R. C. n. 3661 *Halifaxien.* 16 Aprilis 1866 ad III et n. 3876 *Quebecen.* 13 Decembris 1895 ad VIII dies electionis seu translationis Episcopi est ille, in quo provisio Ecclesiae Episcopalis a Summo Pontifice publicatur in Consistorio, sive ipsa electio seu translatio fiat in Consistorio, sive in eo tantum enuncietur electio seu translatio antea facta; atque ab eiusmodi publicatione consistoriali hucusque com-

muniter computatum est anniversarium electionis seu translationis Episcopi ad effectum Missae seu Collectae respondentis iuxta Caeremoniale Episcoporum (lib. II, cap. XXXV). Nunc vero, de mandato SSmi Domini Nostri Pii Papae X, ex audientia diei 20 nuper elapsi mensis Maii, per Sacram Congregationem Consistorialem patefacto, Sacra Rituum Congregatio statuit ac declarat diem anniversarium electionis seu translationis, in casu et ad effectum de quo agitur in citato libro et capite Caeremonialis Episcoporum, quoad Episcopos in Consistorio electos seu translatos, computandum adhuc esse a die publicationis consistorialis, quoad ceteros vero Episcopos antea electos seu translatos, in posterum non a die enunciationis in Consistorio, sed a die expeditionis decretorum seu Litterarum Apostolicarum ad electionem seu translationem pertinentium; non obstantibus resolutionibus in contrarium hucusque editis. Denique Sacra eadem Congregatio iterum atque opportune declarat, diem anniversarium electionis seu translationis Episcopi Coadiutoris cum futura successione relate ad Missam ipsam seu Collectam, cessante Coadiuti munere et adveniente Coadiutoris successione, item a die expeditionis decretorum seu Litterarum Apostolicarum pro Coadiutoria supradicta esse computandum; prouti alias resolutum fuit, praesertim in una *Marianopolitana* n. 3440, diei 30 Ianuarii 1878. Atque ita rescripsit, declaravit et servari mandavit ab hac die 8 Iunii 1910.

Fr. S. CARD. MARTINELLI, *Praefectus.*

✠ Petrus La Fontaine, Episc. Charystien., *Secretarius.*

Studies and Conferences.

OUR ANALECTA.

The Roman documents for the month are:

MOTU PROPRIO of the Sovereign Pontiff, prescribing the form of oath to be taken by Doctors of Sacred Scripture.

S. CONGREGATION FOR RELIGIOUS answers a doubt regarding the extension, outside Italy, of the Constitution *Exposcit debitum*.

S. CONGREGATION OF RITES declares that the anniversary of the election or translation of a bishop, if he is elected or translated in Consistory, is still to be counted from the date of the publication of same in Consistory; but in the case of a bishop elected or transferred before the Consistory, the anniversary is to be reckoned from the date of the decree or Apostolic Letter announcing the election or transfer. The anniversary of election or transfer of a coadjutor bishop who has right of succession to the see, is likewise computed from the date of the sending of the Apostolic Letter appointing to the coadjutorship.

MEA RESPONSIO R.R. P.P. DONOVAN ET LABOURE QUOAD QUAESTIONEM MOTAM DE LICEITATE VASECTOMIAE.

Persistendum plane esse censeo in sententia negante ullam probabilitatem opinioni defendenti liceitatem operationis vasectomiae, ex parte auctoritatis civilis et in circumstantiis indicatis. Et quia video rem magis magisque fieri ordinis practici et ephemerides nostras Belgii, hisce ultimis diebus, haud paucos citare Status Confederationis qui, incredibili facilitate, hanc operationem praecipiunt, existimo summi momenti genuina principia iterum in memoriam revocare, principia inquam quae omnibus scholis catholicis sunt communia. Quare, quin ulla sit intentio aliquid minus grati eximiis opinantibus in contrarium objicere, argumenta antea exposita breviter resumam et objectionibus item breviter respondebo. Itaque—

I. Mutilatio hujusmodi non probabiliter tantum sed certo dicenda est gravis; si enim ad solam procurandam sterilitatem tenderet jam gravis esset, prouti notavimus; verum, cum

hominem impotentem reddat de gravitate nemo potest dubitare. Quod autem *impotentiam* proprie dictam procuret haec operatio patet ex communissima Doctorum sententia; vasectomia enim nihil aliud est quam sectio canalium virile semen deferentium, unde plena impossibilitas verum deinceps ejaculandi semen: aliunde vero, omnes admittunt ejaculationem *veri* seminis pertinere ad essentiam copulae carnalis et ideo impotentem reputandum esse eum qui alios quidem actus perficere valeret sed capacitate ejaculandi semen, quacumque de causa, privatus existit; cujus rei applicatio habetur quoad eunuchos seu castratos quos Sixtus V impotentes declaravit, quamvis alios actus perficere valeant quod et ipsi vasectomiam passi perficiunt. Parum, de cetero, in actuali negotio et sub praesenti respectu, refert inquirere utrum, vi novae operationis, major minorve adsit probabilitas restituendi capacitatem amissam: operatio enim *de se et per se* tendit ad producendam impotentiam perpetuam et nemo dicet fractionem cruris vel brachii levem esse quia utique, in actuali chirurgiae statu, restitutio ad pristinum statum facilius obtinetur. Quare, etiamsi,—qua de re nullum audivimus ex nostris medicis sententiam hanc docentem—facile restitui valeret capacitas coeundi seu habendi vere et proprie dictam copulam, mutilatio adhuc uti plane gravis habenda esset.

II. Dicta mutilatio, in casibus propositis, non probabiliter tantum sed certo dicenda est illicita. Relicto nunc argumento quod videri posset odiosum, petito scilicet, ex eo quod materialistae et socialistae huic operationi aperte favent, innixi rationibus quas omnis catholicus ex corde rejicere debet, argumentum intrinsecum, illudque, juxta nos, indubium, desumitur ex jure naturali interdicente statui civili, et quidem sub gravi, talem interventum. Jus, enim, naturale omnibus hominibus agnoscit facultatem moralem seu jus matrimonium ineundi vel non ineundi, itemque jus utendi matrimonio contracto absque permissione vel beneplacito auctoritatis civilis, salvo, tantummodo, jure statuendi, pro non baptizatis, quaedam impedimenta matrimonialia quae tamen in tuto relinquant hanc generalem facultatem matrimonium ineundi.

Ideoque dato et non concesso quod bonum temporale societatis suadere videretur limitationem matrimoniorum vel limitationem prolis procreandae, nullatenus sequitur auctoritatem civilem jus ullum ad hoc habere; "qui jure suo utitur

neminem laedet" jam dicebat Jus Romanum. Ceterum praeter bonum temporale, pro nobis qui fidem habemus adest bonum spirituale quod sane obtineri potest a prole ex hisce parentibus procreata, pro qua melius est sic esse quam non esse ex hoc solo quod particeps effici valeat vitae aeternae. Quid vero dicendum de objectione desumpta ex opinione S. Alphonsi et nonnullorum qui probabilem habent sententiam castrationem puerorum, ad conservandam pulchrem vocem, servatis servandis, non esse absolute prohibitam, unde, logice videntur hi D. D. concedere mutilationem gravem aliquando permitti, ob bonum commune, extra casum necessitatis conservandae vitae?

Respondeo, imprimis, hanc opinionem paucorum tantum esse et quamplurimos gravissimosque habuisse et hodie habere adversarios. Conferatur doctissimus Benedictus XIV in aureo suo Libro de Synodo dioecesana (Lib. XI. cap. 7. No. 3). Praeterea, hi qui volunt utcumque defendere hanc opinionem ut probabilem, eam multis circumscribunt limitibus et conantur rem explicare dicendo quod ad *conservandum* magnum bonum (vocem pulchrem) videatur licere tunc sese tenere permissivum erga effectum malum provenientem ex operatione. Ceterum quamvis haec motiva nullatenus arrideant plerisque doctoribus, nemo est inter catholicos qui *modo generali affirmet* auctoritatem humanam jus habere occidendi vel graviter mutilandi innocentem propter bonum commune, id quod, de cetero, conduceret logice ad tremendam et tyrannicam agnoscendam potestatem in personas et bona civium. Demum quoad assimilationem quae proponitur inter criminosum formalem, qui indubitanter *puniri* potest, et innocentem sed physice nocivum societati, nullum novi ex canonistis vel juristis catholicis qui hanc assimilationem summa energia non rejecerit, scholam Lombrosianam ejusque asseclas impugnando et refutando. Hi omnes docent et retinent antiquam doctrinam quae radicale discrimen agnoscit inter poenam inflictam vel infligendam reo et media adhibita vel adhibenda, *servato jure naturali*, ad impediendum ne vir innocens sed aliis nocivus vel periculosus societati noceat: huic poena proprie dicta infligi, sub nullo praetextu, potest.

JULIUS DE BECKER.

Scribebam Lovanii, die 16 Julii A. D. 1910.

THE PRIEST'S READING, SPEAKING, AND SINGING IN CHURCH.

To the Editor, THE ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW.

Many years ago a gentleman prominent in the Protestant Episcopal Church of one of the large cities of America addressed a letter to a certain Evangelical Educational Society in which he said: "In view of the indifferent manner in which our beautiful service and noble scriptures set by the Church to be used each holy day are now read, I have, upon due consideration, determined to offer a prize of three hundred dollars, to be awarded to that candidate for holy orders or deacon who, in the judgment of a committee, shall be declared the best reader, and I devoutly trust that the young clergy of the Church may be aroused and stimulated everywhere to give more attention to this important subject and that soon there may be a marked improvement in the public reading of the Liturgy and Scripture, to the end that the language of inspiration may be truly heard by the congregations in the largest and best sense of the word, and, finally, that the service of the Most High may be set forth to His people in the clearest, plainest and most effective manner."

The presiding judge of the first contest for the generous offer of this deeply interested layman of the Protestant Episcopal Church announced to those who were present that the prize was to be awarded to the most correct, intelligent, and impressive reader of the Bible and Prayer Book; each contestant would be required to read the Exhortation, the Apostles' Creed, the last five of the Ten Commandments, a hymn, an historical or a didactic or prophetic position of the Bible, the references being written on slips of paper, and the slips equaling in number the persons competing.

The dissatisfaction of this particular layman of the Protestant Episcopal Church with the manner in which the ministers of his denomination recited the prayers of the liturgical services, crystallizes the views of the ordinary layman of every other denomination on the same point.

The justification of the criticism on the part of the laity of the Catholic Church is admitted by those who give even a casual notice to the way in which the Rosary, the Litanies, the prayers after Mass, and the prayers for novenas and triduums are recited. The adverse criticism might extend also to the way in which the parish announcements are read, in which Mass is sung, and the sermon preached. It is a very general experience that the reading, speaking, and singing under all these heads are far from being commendable, but are characterized by hurried, low, and indistinct tones, and by carelessness both in enunciation and pronunciation.

In view of the vital relation the public prayers of the Church, the

singing of Mass, the reading of announcements, the preaching of the sermon, have to the becoming dignity of divine worship and also to the edification of the faithful, it is surprising that the common and long-recognized defects of reading, speaking, and singing should continue to exist and to defy the public opinion that calls for their correction. A caustic critic of pulpit oratory says: "We venture the assertion that in no other of the learned professions are to be found so many incompetent readers as among the clergy, and it is nothing but custom that enables their hearers to tolerate the murderous assaults upon the Prophets and their shameful treatment of the proudest monuments of our English tongue."

The evils exist. What are the causes? What are the remedies?

The first cause of the indifferent reading, speaking, and singing is to be found in man's limitations. Man in everything that he undertakes is in the beginning untrained, inefficient, and incompetent. There is no exception to this truth in the power to sing, to speak, and to read. The second cause is that in the majority of cases little is done by systematic, intelligent, and persistent instruction to correct the faults of nature and to develop the powers of speech in a degree that will meet the requirement of the priest's calling.

What are the remedies?

Before offering any suggestion in answer to this question, I might refer to the methods of physical training followed in certain educational institutions. This training is practically compulsory upon all students. It begins at the student's entrance into the institution. A careful examination is made to find his exact physical condition, in order to have an intelligent foundation on which to base advice and instruction. He is measured and his strength is tested. His posture and development are noted. His heart and lungs are examined for any latent weakness or disease. With these data as a guide a course of exercise of progressing difficulty is carefully designed and graded to correct the bad physical habits and to develop the bodily powers.

The principles that underlie this wise policy of dealing with the physical powers hold true in regard to the development of the powers of speech. Every candidate for the priesthood should undergo an examination at the very beginning of his course in order that a competent examiner may discover both his defects and his excellences in speaking, reading, and singing. This examination would bring to the attention of the instructors in the Seminary the untrained ear, the uncultivated tone, the careless and slovenly pronunciation, and the uncultured, undeveloped voice. Due record should be made of the capabilities of each student. Following upon this individual examination will come the intelligent instruction in all those things that make for satisfactory singing, speaking, and reading.

At the end of each year there is another testing in order that those who are responsible for the training of students may learn what change has been accomplished during the year. If no progress has been made in certain instances, then a special effort should be made in behalf of those whose defects are deeply rooted and whose powers develop slowly.

It may happen that a student does not respond to the solicitude of his instructors in this important matter of training. He may be indifferent or he may be disposed to minimize the emphasis that is placed upon such matters. If so, he should be made to understand that his judgment cannot be accepted as decisive of the value or importance of a training in the art of speaking and singing. The persistent unwillingness to avail himself of such instruction should be looked upon as indicative of a lack of an ecclesiastical vocation. This decision is not reached because a student is unable to speak or to sing in a satisfactory manner, but because of the spirit manifested in his indifferent and perhaps hostile attitude toward the efforts made by his superiors to fit him for a more effective ministry.

The years of the Seminary Course are not too many for the proper training of the powers of speaking and singing. The development of the human voice is not an affair of a few lessons. The painstaking and continuous labors of the professional artist extend over many years. It is imperative that the instruction of students should be intelligent, systematic, and extended over a long period, and especially over those early years of the seminary course when the voice is most susceptible of training. It appears almost futile to train a candidate for the priesthood in preaching and singing in the last year or the last few months of a theological course. The habits of speech are formed by the time the student—a full-grown man—is ready for ordination. The correction of bad habits or the formation of good ones is then a hopeless undertaking.

Right singing and effective speaking imply complete control of the voice. The power to modulate the voice, to subdue the harsh tones, to soften the inflection, can come only as any other effective power comes, from careful and systematic training. As part of this training, there should be the practice of requiring students to do those things in the way of speaking and singing which he must do as a priest. As a priest he must say the prayers after Mass, recite the Rosary, read the Gospel, make announcements, address the people on various occasions upon purely secular subjects; he must sing Mass and he must preach sermons. He should be asked to do such things during his entire course. The practice of trying to do them will develop the power of doing them well. On one occasion it was asked of Henry Ward Beecher:

"But even with your native talent for public speaking, you assiduously studied and practised elocution, did you not?"

"Yes, I was trained by the celebrated elocutionist, Professor Lovell. For two years I was under him constantly, receiving instruction in gesture, posture, and vocal culture."

"In beginning your ministry did you consciously pass through what is usually called the 'drudgery period' in sermonizing?"

"Yes, I was in travail before I brought forth. About three years of my ministry had elapsed before I began to have ease and facility in making sermons."

It does seem a mistake and a misfortune that so little emphasis should be placed upon the right training of ecclesiastical students in the ability to preach, to sing Mass. The excuse is made that the scheme of studies is so full that little or no place can be made for a complete and systematic course in singing and in public speaking. The charge is also made that very often the instruction in public speaking and reading is of a kind that develops an artificial style ill becoming the dignity and sacredness of divine truth. The only answer that can be made to this first statement is that place should be made for subjects so important and so vital, in an efficient ministry, as the preaching of the Gospel and the singing of the Mass.

Faith comes from hearing, and a minimum requirement for the promulgation of the truths of faith is that he who proclaims the truths should do so in a way that will command an attentive and respectful hearing on the part of the people. That the liturgical services should be sung in a becoming and in a dignified manner is evidenced by the action of the Church in prescribing the way in which such services should be sung.

The statement that certain teachers of reading and public speaking discharge their duty with ill success is true. But their poor measure of success is no conclusive argument against the need of such teaching. How many branches should go by the way if their value were determined by the success and the fitness of those who teach them. In the summing up there are perhaps no more failures among teachers of reading and public speaking than there are failures among the teachers of other branches.

The vast majority of students are anxious and willing to have instruction that will help them to discharge the duties of preaching and singing. Consideration for the student himself demands that he should have the opportunity of becoming efficient; and consideration for the people dictates that nothing should be neglected that will enable them to partake of greater fruit from the preaching of the Word of God.

PHILIP R. MCDEVITT.

Philadelphia, Pa.

THE ARMS OF PIUS X AND HIS GRACE OF NEWFOUNDLAND.

The present writer feels grateful to the Archbishop of Newfoundland for his very kind criticisms as published in the July number of the ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW.

The first point touched upon is a case of "Brevis esse laboro, obscurus fio!" In fact, the sentence "With us by right the pallium could be found in those (the arms) of Baltimore," might be amended by adding after "could be found" the words "if anywhere," as an archbishop of Baltimore was our *very first* archbishop. That was my meaning, and there was, besides, the impression that the Anglican archbishops there mentioned have no right whatever to the pallium. It seems rather incongruous for them in this way to claim or proclaim a closer union with the See of Peter, which is the significance of the pallium. It is on a par with the King of England's *Defensor Fidei!*

Now, with regard to the arms of Pius X, I may first be allowed to state that *variantes* have been published of every single detail of these arms, with the exception of the waves. But I have been able to trace these same details to their origin and to verify their whole evolution, and I have now before me the heraldic proofs of my version. As Bishop of Mantua, Pius X had only the anchor and the silver star with the waves and sky; and in his first Pastoral Letter he makes allusion to his coat of arms and the "better *hope*" (Hebr. 6: 19), Christian hope, "which we hold", he says, "as a secure and fixed *anchor* of our soul"; but he says nothing of the *star*. Undoubtedly Bishop Sarto took the idea of his coat of arms from that of his friend, Bishop Callegari of Treviso, who bore waves and sky and a star of *gold* (the Pope's present "mullet of six points *or*"), while his other friend, Bishop Apollonio, the succeeding Bishop of Treviso, had in his arms three mullets of six points *argent,* and in base the lion of Venice (the Pope's present chief, "a lion proper on field argent"). From this Bishop Sarto took the waves and sky and the silver star, and added the anchor; later, as Patriarch of Venice, he put as chief in his arms Bishop Apollonio's Lion of Venice, changing the *silver* star to *gold*. Up to this time, there is nowhere any sign of a red star. There is an explanation for the gold and silver star, but there is none for the red, unless it be a mistake of the painter; nor is there any

heraldic excuse for it. The Archbishop's mystic interpretation is graceful, but it is fanciful. Star apart, "Ignis Ardens" has been and will be easily applicable to our Holy Father, whose amiability, zeal, and charity ("*gold* fire-tried", St. John calls it in the Apocalypse, [3: 18]) will give back to the Church its primitive fervor, according to the Pope's characteristic motto "Instaurare omnia in Christo", or according to the expressive text of Lev. 6: 12 "*ignis* in altari semper *arde*bit."

As to St. Mark's arms which Piux X kept as Pope, just as he for some time retained the administration of the see of Venice, they are justified by similar instances of other Popes. Some Benedictine Popes *impaled* the Benedictine coat of arms with their personal arms, whilst Dominican and Franciscan Popes (for the sake of symmetry) placed the arms of their Order *in chief*. The Holy Father, who had borrowed parts of his coat of arms from those of his best friends, Bishops Callegari and Apollonio, both natives of Venice, and who later was himself Patriarch of Venice, which he still loves so much, would not part with that chief in his arms. I think that even the "Rouge Dragon" has no valid reason to blame him for it.

Apropos of impaling, will His Grace allow me to differ with him in the matter of the marshaling of his coat of arms (at least as I find it in the *Directory*)? At dexter we should have the arms of the *see*, (which by the way are generally different from those of the *city*). These latter may be taken up as chief. At sinister, we expect to find the personal or family arms, and hence the pallium would be better, as usual, over the chief, in shape of a collar. No doubt, a mistake has been made about the *heraldic* cross, which for an archbishop has two traverses; and lastly, two of the tassels on either side cannot be seen.

The Archbishop's last remark, about the blazoning of the Wilmington arms, was made to me before, but in the opposite direction, which shows that "uneasy lies" a herald's head. His Grace is right as to "debruised", etc., in accordance with the May article in the ECCLESIASTICAL REVIEW, p. 570; but I have been positively told that the designer himself blazons the pinetree "vert", like the "terrace" (not "mount") itself; on the Bishop's seal it certainly looks more like a terrace, and, besides, there are no mountains in the vicinity

of Wilmington. A similar question years ago arose over Pope Leo's poplar tree. Some made it "vert", with the caution *à enquerre;* others, so the *Catholic Encyclopedia,* make it "proper", which does away with any heraldic difficulty about "color placed upon color".

To conclude, there are controverted points in heraldry, mostly owing to the lack of correct information from the persons whose arms are in question, and as a consequence heraldists must often "agree to disagree". AL. B.

TEMPERANCE WORK IN OUR SCHOOLS.

(*Communicated.*)

The mind of a child has been aptly compared to a piece of wax which is moulded and fashioned by a variety of forces acting upon it. Education, in the broad sense of the word, is the most potent of these extrinsic forces and, so far as hereditary influences and environment permit, determines almost entirely the moral, mental, and physical character of the child. The Catholic Church takes practical cognizance of this fact, deeming every kind of sacrifice of slight account when compared with the manifold advantages of being able to impress the youthful mind during this formative period with the salutary influence of religion. It is the aim and object of the Catholic school not simply to make the child intelligent, but, what is more important, to make the child good. Every means therefore, toward this end lies within the legitimate scope of Catholic education, and the system is defective in so far as it neglects any element which may aid us to secure this end.

No thinking disinterested man to-day can fail to recognize in the drink evil the most serious social problem of our time; the State promulgates laws bearing upon it, hedges the liquor traffic about with restrictive legislative enactments and in various ways manifests its anxious interest in this important question. The public school has been made the theatre of various temperance experiments and much effort has been expended to find some practical method of inculcating in the youthful mind views which are likely to prove successful barriers to the habit of intemperance. But the infusion of any definite principle or concrete virtue, such as temperance, is professedly as foreign to the scope of the teaching in the

public school as would be the doctrine that Baptism is necessary to salvation. Hence recourse has been had to pointing out the physiological features of alcohol and its effect on the human system, and text-books for schools have been written and by law introduced setting forth the deleterious consequences of alcoholic stimulants on health. But these experiments have been neither popular nor effective, and their failure emphasizes the weak point of the State schools, viz. their inability to instil into the mind of the child any definite moral principle, any practical concrete virtue.

Just here the Catholic Church manifests her divine wisdom and combines the secular education which the State can only furnish, with that moral training which Christ commissioned her to impart when He said "Teach all nations." It lies easily then within the scope of the parish school to teach temperance, and the future welfare of the child from every point of view demands that the Catholic educator should give it his serious attention.

The best practical method of preventing intemperance is undoubtedly that invented and applied with a success nothing short of miraculous by Father Matthew. The Total Abstinence Pledge was the weapon with which he fought the dragon of drunkenness and the magnificient result of his crusade is felt even in our day. Theoretically no one will deny the superiority of the iron-clad negation of total abstinence over the elastic virtue of what moralists call temperance, but practically many lean toward the latter, perhaps because it is more flattering to their manhood and their boasted self-control, which often means self-indulgence. For children the principle "tutior sequenda" is manifestly applicable as a working method of teaching temperance; never to taste intoxicating drink is to be sure of never acquiring an appetite for it, is to build up a strong moral wall between the child and the first glass of intoxicating drink. An ounce of prevention is worth a pound, nay a ton, of cure in this disease. No one can afford to make the personal experiment of what resistance they can offer to the growth of this very insidious passion; no one need make it when our steps on every side are confronted with the wrecks wrought by the folly of this experiment. Once this appetite is acquired, it is next to impossible to overcome it; and every priest knows that few men and almost no women who are really

drunkards are capable of anything like permanent reform. Our only hopeful battleground then is among those who have not yet acquired the taste and craving for alcoholic stimulant, the boys and girls, the young men and young women of our population. And the school where virtue is professedly taught is the logical field for this work. Already our system of education is receiving the encomiums of men who, though not Catholic, recognize the strength and force of the Catholic position in maintaining our own schools under circumstances that are often really heroic. The various branches of secular learning have been taught not less efficiently than virtue and religion, so that while the mental growth has been by no means neglected, the moral development of the child has been carefully attended to. During the most sensitive and impressionable period of child life the very religious atmosphere of the truly Christian schoolroom builds up insensibly a vigor of virtue that stands in good stead when in after-life comes the real test of character. This influence for future good, this fundamental principle that forewarned is forearmed, will be more widely fruitful if some sound ideas and correct habits be inculcated in this important matter of the use of intoxicants.

The teaching need not necessarily be restricted to the moral consequences of this sin. It should be understood that, however strong we would like to make the position of the total abstainer, it is neither right nor expedient to exaggerate, as is sometimes done, the sinfulness of the abuse of drink. There are other ways of apealing to the mind of the child equally efficacious in the formation of correct and desirable habits. Besides, an understanding of the physiological effects of alcohol, which is hardly within the mental reach of most children, the social, financial, as well as the moral and spiritual disasters that follow in the wake of intemperance, may with telling advantage be suggested to them; to point out the awful ravages of this vice with which unfortunately observation must have made them familiar, to show them the path that every victim has followed down to their present degradation, the way of the moderate drinker, to supernaturalize their total abstinence by the presentation of some religious motive, like the Sacred Thirst or the spirit of self-sacrifice—this would be teaching virtue as it is best taught, in the concrete.

The years that intervene between fifteen and twenty-one are

fraught with unusual dangers, and the verging of boyhood into manhood is a process involving the most serious consequences on the after-life of the man. We are all familiar with the amusing efforts of boyhood to simulate manhood by practising the vices, great and small, of men; and the danger increases with the new independence acquired by him as a wage-earner. During this formative crisis the guardians of youth should exercise their greatest and wisest care. Young men who are drunkards at twenty no longer excite curiosity and wonder; for with the advancement of early mental development comes the advanced acquisition of habits that formerly were noticeable only in those physically mature. Despite all legislation against selling liquor to minors, it is perhaps not too much to say that most of the seeds of drunkenness are now sown before young men are out of their teens; now if it were possible to keep our young men total abstainers until they were twenty-one, it is certain that we would cripple very materially the recruiting department of the army of drunkards. More than that, the habit of saying no to the man who treats would grow upon him and prove a strong protection against subsequent inroads from the drinking customs of society. Our pastors and those charged with the care of schools can easily accomplish this either by the formation of Cadet Temperance Societies, or, if these do not seem feasible, by administering the Total Abstinence Pledge at the time of First Communion or Confirmation.

If there has been previous preparation by occasional instructions on the subject of intemperance, the children will be well-disposed to take intelligently and to keep the Pledge of Total Abstinence until they are twenty-one. In one of our dioceses, for instance, it has been the custom of the Bishop to administer the Pledge to all whom he confirms; and, when pastor of a large parish, he took care that no pupils left the school until they were similarly fortified against intemperance. The results have been most gratifying in the increased number of young people who have never known the taste of intoxicants. Let those who are charged with the education of Catholic youth follow this example, doing what they can along these or similar lines and thus they will largely contribute to the successful solution of this great and vexatious drink problem.

WILLIAM J. MCGURK.

Criticisms and Notes.

SUMMA JURIS ECCLESIASTICI PUBLICI, auctore Augustino Bachofen, O. S. B., S. T. D., in Collegio S. Anselmi de Urbe SS. Canonum lectore, Romae, Ratisbonae, Neo Eboraci, Cincinnati: Friderious Pustet. 1910. Pp. 156.

The question of the Church's relation to civil government and matters temporal is becoming daily more acute, not because Catholics now insist, in their public and representative conventions, as they did in past years, upon the restoration of the "Temporal Power" of the Pope, but because civil governments everywhere are demanding more and more the practical separation of Church and State as the best method of securing man's personal rights and the independence mutually of civil and religious rule. The most perfect condition of society would, of course, obtain under a well-ordered union of external or civil community rule with religion, which inspires high motives and observes divinely instituted laws. The two domains, which direct the actions of the soul and body respectively, are not indeed identical; they are separate and in a sense independent of each other. But they serve the same end, that is, man's happiness and God's glory; and they emanate from the same source of divine direction. Hence they can work in harmony and strengthen each other. As a matter of fact, however, the union of Church and State operates much like the union of soul and body. The one strives against the other, and the things temporal corrupt the instruments of things eternal, even as the inclinations of the body drag down the faculties that foster the aspirations of the soul. Thus the temporal, the sordid, the human, intrudes itself everywhere into the ministry of religion until men speak of the corruption of the Church, and lose their faith because they mistake the Church's officials for the Church, and confound the organs, which may perish and be renewed, with the organism which is imperishable. The flower and fruit do indeed vary in beauty and health-giving power, and they both surely decay; but therein is not found the evidence that the plant is dead.

Now to understand this question of the rights of and the relations between the Church and the State we must keep before us the principles on which governments are based. These principles are fundamental, invariable, applicable and adjustable to every form of rule and life. The student of theology, or history, jurisprudence, and political economy needs in each of these disciplines

a clear knowledge of the "jus publicum" wherein are laid the basic laws which, like the theorems of Euclid in mathematics, serve to indicate and correct all errors of construction in the art and craft of church or state building.

Dr. Bachofen deals explicitly with the fundamentals of public church law, but in doing so he must needs refer to the principles on which all government is conducted. His process of demonstration is simply logical, complete in analysis, and hence splendidly clear. He examines the rights of the Church as a temporal society in the elementary constitution on which that society rests; next he develops the results of these "constitutive" rights in their practical application, whence arise the "gubernative" rights; finally he adjusts for us the international relations which form the chief difficulty of rendering the rights of the Church acceptable on the basis of national differences. As the author does not waste words, the student obtains a most satisfactory survey of the field discussed, and is at once enabled to apply the doctrine of fundamental ecclesiastical jurisprudence to actual conditions. The test may not be acceptable to the extremist who interprets as divine tradition whatever has had a long-standing sanction among ecclesiastical writers or authorities who represent the purely human elements of church government, because certain factors of the Church's growth and of civil society had not sufficiently developed to warrant any questioning of a standing claim in material conditions. And for persons not familiar with the application of the distinctions our Lord makes in the Gospel between the traditions of the pharisees and the traditions of Moses, or between the conduct and sayings of those who sit in the chair of Moses and the teaching of the Law and the Prophets,—for such persons there is always a danger in the rigor of logic, which frankly recognizes the weakness of accepted positions when the conditions on which they were tenable have changed.

As an illustration of the author's strongly critical method we may refer to his treatment of the subjects of "Separation of Church and State" and the "Temporal Power." In the former he maintains the principle of union, but admits the relative value of separation. Thus the laws which to-day apply the measure of separation in France are justly characterized as invading the rights of religion. The separation advocated in the United States on the other hand is declared to be both necessary and conducive to peace, because the conditions of national right upon which the Union was formed are respected in the complete liberty which is by law granted to every citizen to worship according to the dictates of his conscience, so long as he does not infringe the external liberty of his fellow.

Touching the "Roman Question" the author is equally candid and logical. While the "spoliation" of the Holy See under Pius IX is stigmatized as an unjust invasion of justly acquired domain, the question whether the Pope can yield up the "patrimonium Petri," if regarded, not as a matter of expediency, but on juridical principles, is answered in the affirmative. The reasons given are cogent and discriminating, but we cannot delay to retail them here. Our purpose is merely to direct attention to the volume as a useful manual for students in theology. It is especially serviceable for class use in dealing with the fundamental elements of ecclesiastical law.

HISTOIRE DE L'INQUISITION EN FRANCE. Par Th. de Cauzons. Tome premier. Paris: Bloud & Cie. 1909. Pp. lv–493.

The real scope and contents of the present initial volume of a work designed to fill at least three volumes are more correctly conveyed by the sub-title, omitted from the title-page: "Les Origines de l'Inquisition." We have here properly speaking a French History of the Inquisition down to the year 1230. It gives us a philosophical French review of inquisitional aims and practice in the first twelve centuries of the Christian Church. He has distributed his task over three books: the first, our volume of introduction, chiefly; the second is to study everything proper to the Inquisition as a tribunal: its personnel, procedure, penalties, and means of execution; whereas only the third book promises to be specially concerned with France, or with French confines.

This introductory volume includes forty pages of bibliography, besides the works incidentally cited in the footnotes. At first sight, the latter seem overcrowded, to the point of cumbrous obstructiveness; but if read as the author suggests, in sequence to the whole chapters, or series of chapters, the notes are rather inviting. They occasionally express opinions which lose none of their judicial temper by the accident of their point-blank directness.

For the primary reason of inquisitory ideas and their consequent application at all in the Christian economy, the author starts from the thought of a "jealous God", and resolves it as a "world-wide fact, a comprehensive law, that monotheistic religion is intolerant". Then granted that Christianity transmits a pure deposit of faith in the one only God, the Church, or concretely the Pope, will base all and sundry measures to the suppression or elimination of false belief, upon the single end of exalting the name of God; so that "saving souls, preserving the integrity of the faith, maintaining the unity of

the Church, the supremacy of the Roman Church, constitute the sum of the papal arguments for pursuing heretics." What heresy itself is, in the common understanding of the Catholic Church, we are told both objectively and subjectively: "Heresy intrinsic, or objective, is error in opposition to the truth affirmed by the Church; heresy subjective is deliberate and obstinate belief in an error, contrary to the truths explicitly defined by the Church."

The relations between the Church and State are studied in their historic development from Constantine downward; and the author accounts it an exceedingly grave precedent for the entire subsequent course of procedure, that the Nicene Fathers at once acquiesced in the emperor's proffer to banish Arian opposers of the Council's definition respecting the Trinity. "Nobody then dreamed of the consequence of that imperial act; the bishops, fresh stirred by the thought of past persecutions, now complacently enjoyed the sovereign's protection in return for the sometime edicts of terror. The threat of exile against the foes of "consubstantial" seemed merely a simple and perfectly natural confirmation of Cæsar's good pleasure. But all the huge volume of heretic tortures began thus to enroll itself." So, too, Charlemagne proved a law to himself in forcibly *converting* the border Saxons, yoking political expediency side by side with zeal for the Gospel; as was also the case, what though on a lesser scale, with Norwegian Olaf and the Dane Canute. For coincidence mainly, and not as pretending to construe too plain a context of cause and effect, the author generally remarks of those forced conversions in Northern Europe, that the Baltic countries were likewise quick to fall away from the Catholic allegiance at the Protestant crisis; whereas the Latin countries, whose faith had been implanted in the manner of a spontaneous free growth, stayed loyal to the Church. On the other hand, the author strongly endorses a certain fundamental "holy horror" of erroneous doctrine, from the Church platform of conservative pure truth: "Likely enough, the minds of our contemporaries, being either less ardent or more indifferent, would find it a tedious chapter to peruse the long lists of express maledictions which emanated from the leaders of an organization priding itself for gentleness and charity. Maybe, again, they might perceive naught but misapplied extravagance in the like language employed for vituperation of heretics. Yet the very abuse thereof, if abuse there was, attests only the more emphatically the real horror of the Church, Catholic and Roman, for heresy. Surely a legitimate horror, we must all admit; in so far as the total organization, hierarchy, discipline, ritual, indeed everything in the Christian body, rests on certain dogmas. Deny

these dogmas, the whole organism collapses." But recurring once more to the doubtful expediency of invoking the secular arm to uphold the integrity of spiritual doctrines, the author strikes one of the worst fruits of the Protestant disintegration, which, in turn, was locally furthered by the secular arm now hostile to the Church; when he notes not only "those vast and ever lamentable dismemberments of Christendom in the sixteenth century, still lamented, with their manifold schisms and well-nigh numberless discordant professions of faith; but the public *indifference,* besides, at the spectacle of so many religions, all purporting to be Christian, yet so palpably disunited as to scandalize thousands of sober minds." For very paradox of mischief arising, in the author's estimation, from undue reliance on the secular arm for "policing" the Church, or her heretical adversaries, we are to consider the Emperor Frederick II, "rationalist, several times unchurched, yet proceeding to legalize the stake as the proper instrument for torturing the enemies of the Church, which, all the while, he himself combats with but little abatement; whereas we, at our distance, may well inquire whether his donation to the Church, of yonder fatal stake, was not even more prejudicial to the Apostolic See than the hatred and passing attacks of an emperor, mere mortal. But nobody then foresaw the future."

In a summary review of his chapter dealing with the *punishment* of heretics, our author finds that "during her first three centuries, the Church, though distinctly abhorring heresies, had no cognizance of corporal chastisements. These were introduced under Christian emperors, in special contingencies . . . In the new barbarian kingdoms, legislation depended on local conditions: maybe still more on national character, being cruel in Spain, milder in Gaul, then varying in the long course of time, and none too seldom reflecting the influence of political urgencies." There ensued a phase of popular fury, in the eleventh century, when petty local authorities, consulting neither State nor Church in first resort, cast heretics to the stake by arbitrary process (an American reader, by the way, discovers *lyncher* and *lynchage* to be fully adopted in the current vocabulary of erudite Gallia). But this popular sentiment voiced the growing general opinion in favor of death at the stake; until the same became legalized alike in the civil codes and countenanced, at least, by the canonical sentence ascribed to St. Thomas Aquinas: "Heretics may be put to death; relapsed ones ought to be."

Somewhat over the last third of this introductory volume treats of the judgment of heretics and the gradual institution of the Inquisition as a papal tribunal: at first corroborating, then supple-

menting, and eventually, in its distinctive office, altogether supplanting the local episcopal courts. The local procedure had been liable to the particular abuses of hasty conviction, unjust condemnations, whether by fault of arbitrary judges or imperfect light on the real charges; whereas a dispassionate examination by technical commissioners unmoved by local bias, would be calculated to work, had its purpose become ideally achieved, with adequate fairness. But in this respect, we are best informed by the author's very words, on the essence of inquisitorial trials. "The nucleus of the Inquisition's procedure is official accusation. We can hardly deny that this marked an advancement over procedure based on irresponsible charges; and thus regarded the Inquisition deserves no maledictions. Of course, the process implies *inquests* (*inquisitiones*), whence the entire system has derived its name, involving arrests, the right of private search, and other more or less odious concomitants in theory to be deplored, yet not easy to supersede in practice . . . The Church regulated this institution by a series of decrees, canons, or bulls, intended to prevent arbitrary rulings, to guide the judges, forestall injustice; and the like decrees have constituted a sort of inquisitorial code. This code, no more than any other human institution, reached perfection; and we are far from so claiming. Yet we sincerely believe, despite such too glaring defects as we shall have occasion to note in our second book, that the inquisitorial system was a progress in jurisprudence."

Even where the author separately touches France, in the present volume, as in surveying the situation of Languedoc in the Albigensian times, we find France a subordinated medium, as it were, wherein the Inquisition at large undergoes a special phase of develment: that is, the merging of episcopal surveillance into that of direct legations from Rome. With reference to the Dominicans' part in the Inquisition, as also respecting the sometimes debated question, Was St. Dominic himself an *Inquisitor?* we are advised not only to bear in mind the "manifold functions assigned to the Order of Preachers", but also to allow for the successive meanings of *inquisitor*. For if we deal with the term in its primitive sense, denoting one who seeks or inquires and examines, "there were always, and in all states of society, the like *inquisitores*. If we deal with examiners of heretics, there were such in the Church contemporary with Pope Leo I. If we speak of inquisitors in the sense of priests or clerics examining heretics with a view to their correction and reconciliation with the Church, we find them in the bishops and their delegates almost so soon as the bishop himself takes shape in history. If we mean judges along inquisitorial lines, or officially

proceeding to follow up charges of accusation, we know that the bishops were urgently bidden thus to proceed, by Lucius III: whether directly or by proxy; and this manner of prosecution was regularly sanctioned by Pope Innocent III. In the latter sense, indeed, we may credit Innocent III not with the institution, but with a momentous development of the stated procedure, including a nearly absolute degree of precision in its rules. If we mean priests, religious or clerics judging inquisitorially, and pronouncing, or empowered to pronounce, to the extent of confiscation, imprisonment, surrender to the secular arm, we find all this implied in the edict of Verona, as likewise in the edicts of Innocent III. If, lastly, we mean judges directly answerable to the Pope, though not his legates . . . we must come down to the pontificate of Gregory IX and the period of 1230. Now the missionaries of Languedoc, St. Dominic among them, were true *inquisitors, delegates* of bishops or of the papal legates; although not, as yet, *pontifical* inquisitors."

Touching a controverted question of dates, wherein "certain historians would consider the decrees of the Council of Toulouse (1229) as the real original charter of the Inquisition: The Council did, indeed, enact some new rules, thus furthering, if you choose, the inquisitorial code already long in process of growing; but no more than that." On the chronic *vexation* inspired in many quarters by the very mention of "Inquisition", our always judicial author cautions as follows: "It is worth observing that if we would not falsify or misrepresent the Inquisition, we should specify the particular country and period at issue. Neither the dominating spirit, nor the operations, nor the net results were alike, though bearing the common title; for there was diversity in point of times and places. I think three several, very distinct divisions can be allotted to the general history of the Inquisition. 1. The season of pursuing aggressive heretics; or the times definitely studied in this our volume. 2. Next comes the period of the well-organized and established Inquisition, though subject to variant rules, and not uniformly constant of application; being also frequently thwarted by political events. This was contemporary with Boniface VIII, Clement X, John XXII, down to the Great Schism. 3. After the Great Schism, the structure of the Church was profoundly shaken by the heresies of Wyclif, John Huss, and Luther. The ecclesiastical authorities, now powerless to struggle, gave over the fortune of the rebellious to the lot of war, and aimed to compact the union of the faithful by dint of an inexorable surveillance. This, then, was the general Roman Inquisition, in spirit more narrow, yet less bloody, than the earlier Inquisition." In terminating his first volume, the

author modestly submits, in a footnote, his own attempt to reach some *objective* critique of the Inquisition, usually condemned or upheld, at best refracted, in the light of subjective preconceptions alone. After fully allowing for the mental bias peculiar to every historic era, the complexity of human events, and the very postulates of religious conservatism, which would clearly demand measures of resistance against subversive attacks, he deduces the following categorical strictures, or their equivalent implications, at least, on the score of the Inquisition; then answers the same directly, as far as requisite.

1. Was the death penalty compatible with the religious character of the body that imposed it? 2. In dealing it, were the common laws of humanity, against which no man has the right to act insurgently (be these laws, for that matter, what they will) safeguarded to the utmost? 3. Were the attendant cruelties inevitable, or could they have been avoided? 4. Had the authorities who ordained them sufficient reasons, properly disinterested? In other words, was there so serious a compromise of the general weal that the common interest could insist on the extinction of certain interests apart? 5. Could measures thus cruel accomplish the desired result? . . .

1. We deem it a matter for deep regret that the Christian body, being based on the precepts of the Gospel, should ever have believed itself bound to shed human blood. 2. The pain of fire was cruel to a disproportionate extent in relation to the given offences. 3. It seems to us, as we consider certain sectaries who were themselves very murderous, homicides, incendiaries, etc., that it would have been impossible, yonder in the Middle Ages, to impose respect for the social order, without recourse to cruel chastisements. We should, no doubt, have preferred that the Church had left the repression of those recreants' misdeeds to the State alone; but we must not forget the intimate, inextricable dualism of the social, civil, and religious organism of that era: how difficult it was for each to act by itself. But as touching pacific dissenters, we keenly regret that any *exegetical* divergencies should have culminated in the stake. 4. This question is peculiarly burdensome to a Catholic. On the one hand, to be sure, it is patent that the Popes, in enacting coercive measures, thereby designed to maintain their spiritual, and sometimes even their material supremacy. On the other hand, since the majority of those medieval Popes appear to have been benign men, of pure morals, very generous ideas, one were disposed to believe that when they prescribed their sanguinary laws they contemplated the goal of a still higher advantage. And this advantage, according to their own words, was to have been the glory of God, the superior welfare of Christendom. Ostensibly, it was especially the conservation of the preponderancy of the Apostolic See, regarded as a sort of abstract power independently of the transient occupant. In this light, however, it is difficult to avoid a bitter feeling of regret that the ashes of human bones were fated to sustain the pontifical throne. Whilst yet we very willingly admit that, personally viewed, the Popes and their counsellors may have been persuaded that in laboring for the Apostolic See they were struggling effectively for the general good of Evangelic society. 5. The last question is so amply answered by facts that we are dispensed from framing an individual reply. If the Albigenses disappeared, if the Vaudois had to dissemble and retreat within the Alps, yet the policy of violence and the Inquisition did not avail to prevent the Protestant eruption, in summary of all the doctrines so long combated. A glance over our convulsed social fabric suffices to tell us which has triumphed: the Inquisition or its adversaries.

W. P.

PAPERS AND ADDRESSES. By the Most Rev. John Healy, D. D., LL. D., M. R. I. A., Archbishop of Tuam. St. Louis, Mo.: B. Herder. 1909. Pp. viii–549.

It was a happy inspiration that moved the Catholic Truth Society of Ireland to gather together and publish in a permanent and worthy form these hitherto uncollected essays and addresses of Archbishop Healy. Not only is the volume a fitting testimonial commemorative of the illustrious prelate's Silver Jubilee, but the papers it comprises have—at least many of them—a distinct value which by their present form is assured and more extensively circulated. Aside from their personal connotation as illustrating the wide literary activity of the Archbishop of Tuam, the essays cover broad fields of biography and history as well as theology and philosophy. For the most part they relate to questions concerning the civil and ecclesiastical history of Ireland; but many of them possess a thoroughly Catholic, that is, a world-wide interest for Catholics—namely, those which treat of the Holy House of Loreto, Cardinal Newman's Theory of Scriptural Inspiration, Leo XIII on the Origin of Civil Power, the Catholic Aspects of Tennyson, etc. The American reader may be interested especially in the paper on Orestes Brownson. It is a brief study and takes account of only the initial volumes of Brownson's works; but it is justly appreciative, while discriminatingly critical. The allusion to Brownson's "university studies" (p. 447) is doubtless an oversight. He made no academic career.

UNE CONVERSION DE PROTESTANTS PAR LA SAINTE EUCHARISTIE. Autobiographies. Par le R. P. Emmanuel Abt de la Compagnie de Jésus. Paris: Gabriel Beauchesne & Cie. 1910. Pp. 106.

Father Abt's little pamphlet, describing, in their own frank accounts, the religious vicissitudes of his parents, two worthy Alsatians, before they found Catholic sanctuary, makes no attempt at literary art; and yet there is a touch of homely vividness in the narratives, quite suggestive of Erckmann-Chatrian's charm in its day, for very directness and artless candor.

The religious background is that vague term "pietism." It will be remembered that there were two main phases of pietism in Germany: the first, a moral and "pious" reaction, led by the Lutheran pastor Spener, against "orthodox" Lutheran deadness, in the latter half of the seventeenth century; a movement anticipating, in Germany, the much similar phenomenon of "Methodism" in England. The second, and properly secondary, phase of German piet-

ism appears to have been a logical countercurrent against eighteenth and nineteenth century rationalism. But both phases were emotionally religious, and both ran to excess in the way of "enthusiastic" vagaries.

Young "Pietist" Abt, at the time of his initial fervor, so magnified his exhorter's mission that he forfeited his everyday post of a shop draughtsman rather than submit to his employer's demand for "business chiefly." Later he learned the cabinet-maker's trade at Basel. Alsace and Switzerland, moreover, bound the biographic or autobiographic horizons throughout. Perhaps it was a more hopeful stage in the recollective direction of his genuine religious ardor, that he once formed the habit of individual confession, "on his knees before God," in a strip of solitary woodland, neighborhood of Basel. He ran across good Catholics, too, in the course of his erratic progress; and from the start appears to have been favorably drawn toward Catholic practice. On a journey to Strasburg, he met Elizabeth and Louis Klein, his future wife and highly significant brother-in-law. For the latter, if occasionally himself beguiled, as well, with religious aberrations, yet frequently stands firm on his feet, not unstably on his head, in the rôle of overruling sanity: not least so, at a vital turn in the chapter, where to check inordinate aberration he presumes to speak by behest of St. Michael the Archangel! Perchance, again, this fault of rash pride in otherwise nobly-minded brother Louis prevented his own return within the Catholic pale: his objection being that, whilst he believed the Church in permanent possession of truthful doctrine, he felt that the Church had ceased to retain the deposit of grace therewith, from the incident of Fénelon's condemnation. In all this it appears what intense "religionists", at least, these plain Alsatian burghers were, in their dominating preoccupation with spiritual problems.

Elizabeth Klein, Frau Abt that she came to be, notwithstanding her maidenly vow, self-imposed, to continue unmarried, had the religious intuition for birthright, or nearly. Step by step—and the practical solution at last was gained by the humble guidance of their Catholic household servant—this real access to God was divined to inhere, as the title reads, in *la Sainte Eucharistie*, in Holy Communion. Elizabeth's interlude of a fantastic dream, before that effectual solution, had some semblance of reason in a sort of groping analogy toward the "House of Many Mansions", wherein the innermost shrine, of course, represented the Tabernacle: or this by inference.

One of the very strong passages in the development of the conversions is a letter from soberly balanced Abbé Meyblum, our con-

verts' Catholic preceptor, in answer to Elizabeth's lingering agitations on the theme of perfect divine love here below (still certain of the Pietists involve themselves in blind contradictions along self-appointed "Holiness" lines, down to this day). "Those phrases of yours in depicting your huge mental torments will hardly escape a Catholic woman, a Catholic mother, — be sure of that. Better strengthened then, from above, you will understand and have power to do what now seems so dark and painful for you; you will then perfectly know and love: and yet with a devout sobriety, calmly, obediently, humbly; for then, with a delicate balance of conscience you will behave in such sort that all of God's gifts, both spiritual and temporal, the supernatural graces no less than health of body, the behests of nature and those of the spirit alike, will be maintained in excellent harmony, such as Divine Providence has ordered for the Christian life in its every calling; for then, at last, you will impose due measures even to the feelings, desires, and thoughts, and will believe them verily pleasing to God solely in so far as they shall not disorder your natural endowments."

The pamphlet is meagre in family record items; but we learn, at the close, of three children of the converts in Church vocations: an elder son, half a century in the priesthood, (diocese of Strasburg); Father Abt, S.J., the editor, already past fifty years in religion; and a deceased daughter, sometime Ursuline nun in Brittany, then exiled by French secular law, to die grieved in Alsace.

Literary Chat.

That people don't talk as well to-day as did their ancestors; that our conversational performances are flat, thin, and poor, not to say stale or unprofitable; that conversation has become well nigh a lost art—all this is an unchallenged commonplace which one may attempt to explain but will hardly dispute. Many thoughtful persons deplore this atrophy of the conversational faculty and look upon it as no healthy sign of either social or intellectual progress. Be this as it may, a book that will help to arrest the decline and to quicken to life what remains to us of conversational art should be given a hearing. A book of this kind has recently been compiled by Horatio S. Kraus under the title of *The Lost Art of Conversation* (New York: Sturgis & Walton). The volume is made up of essays by the recognized masters—Bacon, De Quincey, Mahaffy, Jonathan Swift, Hazlitt, and Stevenson.

Bacon's little essay on *Discourse* will probably be familiar to many; but like the verses from the Sapiential Books, with which Mother Church has recently been refreshing us, its salt never loses its savor; and the discerning reader who knows how to set a heavenly seal on the gold of human wisdom can turn Lord Verulam's sententious apothegms to high account.

The exercise of this coining art comes quite easy at places where you read, for instance, that "speech of a man's self ought to be seldom and well chosen. I knew one," adds Bacon, "who was wont to say in scorn: 'He must needs be a wise man, he speaks so much of himself, and there is but one case wherein a man may commend himself with good grace, and that is in commending virtue in another, especially if it be such a virtue whereunto himself pretendeth" (p. 5).

No less apt for the spiritual die is Bacon's golden sayings on the limits of wit. For instance: "As for jest, there be certain things, which ought to be privileged from it, namely religion, matters of State, great persons, any man's present business of importance, and any case that deserveth pity; yet there be some that think their wits have been asleep except they dart out something that is piquant and to the quick" (p. 4).

De Quincey's winsome essay on Conversation is, of course, one of the classics, as are also those of Dean Swift—classics which everybody is supposed to have read but of which most people nowadays hardly know the titles. At any rate the opportunity to read them is afforded by the present volume—to read them and the rest, all of them good literature, pleasant, informing, and stimulating, quite apart from their relationship to the "lost art".

A book less vivacious than the preceding, though readable and suggestive, is *English Literature in Account With Religion*, by Edward Chapman (New York: Macmillan). The author's aim, as the title indicates, is to manifest the mutual influence of English Literature and Religion during the nineteenth century. The term Religion is taken in a very broad sense, it is true, but it is consoling to see how much at least of righteous tendency toward God the leading writers of the past age in every department of literature reveal in their works. The agnosticism which a generation ago was the "clamor of the time and spoke with the authority of fashion", Mr. Chapman thinks, is passing away. "Huxley's adjective 'agnostic' has its useful place, but it is too feeble and complexionless a term for the designation of thoughtful men. No word, the most significant syllable of which is negative, can hold the allegiance of the wise for very long. 'Alpha privative' may serve as motto for the protest of a decade; it can scarcely lead the progress of a century. 'Do not let what you do know be overthrown by what you do not know' is an old and well-approved dictum of experience, to which the Gospel of 'agnosticism' ran counter. It was a counsel of negation, and common sense could not remain subject to it. Religion stood for something so real and vital that men had been found to live by it and to die for it in every generation. They could not dismiss it at the word of a scientific dogmatist [Huxley]; nor could they rest in presence of a theory presented even with the sweet reasonableness of Darwin's until its philosophical and religious implications had been examined" (p. 415). That the philosophical and religious implications of a properly limited evolutionism are true and sane Mr. Chapman very clearly manifests. His book makes interesting and instructive reading. The discriminating apologist will find in it a wealth of illustration and allusion.

The author's comments on Cardinal Newman deserve noting. He says amongst other things: "English prose has, perhaps, owned no master who was Newman's equal in the art of lucid succinctness. A volume of commentary upon the sadly misunderstood Beatitude concerning the meek might conceivably say less than his one sentence: 'Sheep are defenceless creatures; wolves are strong; yet the wolves go hungry, and the sheep are fed! . . .' The single phrase 'poisoning the wells' whereby in his Introduction to the *Apologia* he characterizes certain charges of his opponents, is worth reams of

elaborate argument; while the *Apologia* itself is a great 'Human document' worth almost as much to psychology as to literature and at least half justifying Mr. Birrell's charitable extravagance when he speaks of Newman as one whose 'long life has been a miracle of beauty and grace, and who has contrived to instill into his very controversies more of the spirit of Christ than most men can find room for in their prayers'" (p. 196).

The question "What is Modernism?" is still unshelved. Not infrequently the priest is asked to define it, and even though he may have read the few English pamphlets, or the more copious French literature pertaining thereto, he may still find himself groping for a satisfactory definition. In such a quandary one is apt to take refuge under the logical canon that there are some things which *nec possunt nec debent definiri*. One may also feel some comfort in the words of a recent student of the subject who finds that Modernism is still in its infancy; that "it is misty, and fluid"; that it has not as yet attained "its fixed and final state", etc. Be all this as it may, the interested reader will find in *Some Notes on Modernism*, a lecture-pamphlet by Father Strappini, S.J., not a few lucid suggestions which he may easily assimilate, and then hand over the little brochure where it will do most good. The fact that it retails at five cents per copy deserves to be noted in view of prospective circulation (London: Sands & Co.; St. Louis, Mo.: B. Herder).

And in this connexion might be suggested: *The Penitent Instructed*, a wee little book containing "a course of eight practical instructions on how to make a good confession", by the Rev. E. A. Selley, O.E.S.A. There is much solid, well digested and arranged matter between the small covers. It will save the preacher and the teacher time and labor. A new revised edition has recently appeared (London, Washbourne; New York, Benziger Brothers).

No less serviceable and practical is *Questions on the Sacrament of Matrimony Answered*, by the Rev. J. M. Phelan, of the Diocese of Green Bay (published by the author). In three-score small pages all that is most important for the Catholic laity to know and believe concerning marriage is catechetically arranged. It is a good pamphlet to spread. The same is true of *Catholics and Prohibition*, an illustrated brochure containing a lecture by the Rev. C. P. Baron, Yorkville, Indiana (published by the author). It is a recital of the evils of the liquor traffic and a strong plea for Total Abstinence. Temperance apostles can turn it to good account. *Faith and Reason* is likewise a good pamphlet, by the Rev. Peter Saurasaitis (Christian Press Assn., New York). It is a brief but thoughtful presentation of the rational and dogmatic arguments proving the harmony of the two principal criteria and sources of religious truth.

Amongst the recent defenders of the faith in France, M. André Goddard holds a prominent place. Forceful in thought, he is no less persuasive in method and style. He is of those who have been most successful in steering a mid-course between a liberalistic Modernism and an intransigent conservatism. His book, *Le Positivisme Chrétien*, was considered by competent critics at the time of its first appearance "as marking the highest progress in apologetics during the past fifty years". Brunetière and especially François Coppée sounded its praises. Recently the work has appeared in an enlarged and thoroughly revised edition (Paris, Bloud et Cie).

Of the recent additions to the deservedly well-known series of "Science et Religion", emanating from the same house, a brochure on Faith, *La Foi*, by Père Charles, deserves special attention. It is a real *multum in parvo*, com-

bining the psychology and the theology of faith, and bringing Scholasticism, interpreted intelligibly for the modern mind, to bear on recent controversies. The writer knows his subject and his times. He has the art of putting both in touch.

What becomes of the soul after death (*Que devient l'Ame après la Mort*, by Mgr. W. Schneider, Bishop of Paderborn) is a no less timely production. The teachings of faith and reason are strongly combined and skilfully marshaled against the materialistic theories on the soul, its survival of death, and its future fate and condition.

A priest who has frequently to address sodalities or other associations of women may find it not always an easy thing to be the scribe that has the new as well as the old at his command. If he read French he has easy access to an inexhaustible store of material. Amongst books available for his purpose may be recommended *Les Vaillantes du Devoir* by Père Léon-Rimbault (Paris: Téqui). They who are "valiant" in the cause of duty are women who think, who feel, who love, who weep, who pray, who work, who struggle. Each of these verbs gives a title to a discourse. Besides these there are four other discourses on some Catholic heroines of France. The thoughts are suggestive and gracefully expressed.

A good book of the same kind is *Figures de Pères et Mères Chrétiens* by the Abbé Bels (Paris: Téqui). As the title suggests, it is a gallery of portraits of Christian parents, short sketches of the characters of fathers and mothers, the latter for the most part of men eminent in Church and State. There is an abundance of material available for illustration and example.

Everybody knows of the fall of de Lamennais. Comparatively few know anything of those five fruitful years of his middle life (1828-1833) when as Superior General of the Congregation of St. Peter, which he had established at La Chênaie, he influenced so deeply some of the most illustrious Frenchmen of his time. Gerbet, Lacordaire, Montalembert, Maurice de Guerin, Boré, Rohrbacher, Guéranger—to mention but a few of the better known—all owed to de Lamennais' guidance and inspiration at La Chênaie much of what was noblest in their life and ideals. The story of those years—or rather the character of de Lamennais as father, apostle, and moral teacher as then lived—is ably told by Père Roussel in a small volume of three hundred pages published by Téqui, Paris. Much of the book is made up of discourses and sayings of de Lamenais, which reflect the lofty mind, pure heart, and nobler aspirations of the philosopher. It is good and inspiring to read these expressions of a great and loving soul ere it fell a victim to its own delusion and obstinacy.

The *Alchemist's Secret* is the title of a slender volume containing a sheaf—there are a dozen, less one—of beautiful stories by Isabel Williams. They are for the most part pathetic and, coming from the soul, they reach the soul. The significance of the title is not explicitly indicated, but one may surmise that the tales are meant to reveal if not the secret at least the effects of the Divine Alchemy that transmutes pain and poverty into joy and spiritual riches. The stories are simple, natural, touching, wholesome. They will interest and help both priest and people. (New York and Philadelphia: Kenedy.)

Books Received.

THEOLOGICAL AND DEVOTIONAL.

EVANGELIORUM SECUNDUM MATTHAEUM, MARCUM ET LUCAM SYNOPSIS: juxta Vulgatam Editionem; Auctoribus A. Camerlynck, Can. Hon. Eccl. Cath. Brug., S.Th.D., et S. Scripturae Professore in Majori Seminario Brugensi, et H. Coppieters, S.Th.D., et S. Scripturae Professore in Universitate Catholica Lovaniensi. Editio altera, auctior et emendatior. Brugis: Carolum Beyaert, 1910. Pp. lxxvi-200. Price, 5 *fr.* 50.

PLANS D'INSTRUCTIONS POUR LE DIOCÈSE DE NEVERS. Deuxième édition, revue et augmentée. Paris: P. Téqui. 1910. Pp. xiv-455. Prix, 3 *fr.* 50.

L'ANGE GARDIEN. Exercice en Trente Méditations. Par l'Abbé P. Feige, Chanoine honoraire, Directeur de l'Œuvre de Marie-Immaculée, Missionaire diocésain de Paris. (*Aux Ames Pieuses.*) Paris: P. Téqui. 1910. Pp. xliii-208. Prix, 1 *fr.*

BIBLIOTHECA ASCETICA MYSTICA. Ven. P. Ludovici de Ponte, S.J., Meditationes de Hispanico in Latinum translatae a Melchiore Trevinino, S.J., de novo in lucem datae cura Augustini Lehmkuhl, S.J. Ed. altera recognita. Pars VI. Friburg, Brisg., et St. Louis, Mo.: B. Herder. 1910. Pretium, $1.80.

LEHRBUCH DER KATHOLISCHEN RELIGION für die oberen Klassen höherer Lehranstalten. Von Prof. Dr. Gerhard Rauschen. Erster Teil: *Kirchengeschichte.* (Fünfte verbesserte Auflage.) Pp. 152. Preis *M.* 1.90; Zweiter Teil: *Grundriss der Apologetik* (für untersekunda). (Dritte verbesserte Auflage.) Pp. 87. Preis, *M.* 1.50; Dritter Teil: *Glaubenslehre.* (Dritte verbesserte Auflage.) Pp. 120. Preis, *M.* 1.90; Vierter Teil: *Sittenlehre.* (Zweite verbesserte Auflage.) Pp. 94. Preis, *M.* 1.60; *Apologetik für Prima* (als Unhang zur Glaubenslehre.) (Dritte verbesserte und vermehrte Auflage.) Pp. 70. *M.* 0.80; *Kirchengeschichte für höhere Mädchenschulen.* (Zweite verbesserte Auflage.) Pp. 109. *M.* 0.80; *Bibelkunde für höh. Mädchenschulen u. Lyceen.* (Zweite verbesserte Auflage.) Pp. 51. *M.* 0.80; *Kleine Kirchengeschichte.* (Kirchengeschichtliche Charakterbilder für höhere Lehranstalten, besonders für Obertertia.) (Zweite Auflage.) *M.* 0.80. Bonn: Peter Hanstein. 1910.

PHILOSOPHICAL.

LA PHILOSOPHIE MINÉRALE. Par A. de Lapparent, Secrétaire perpétuel de l'Académie des Sciences. (*Études de Philosophie et de Critique Religieuse.*) Paris: Bloud et Cie. 1910. Pp. vi-316. Prix, 3 *fr.* 50.

HEXENWAHN UND HEXENPROZESZ vornehmlich in 16 Jahrhundert. Von Nikolaus Paulus. Friburg im Brisg. und St. Louis, Mo.: B. Herder. 1910. Preis, $1.10.

HISTORICAL.

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH. By Roland G. Usher, Ph.D., Instructor in History, Washington University. Two Volumes. New York and London: D. Appleton & Co. 1910. Pp. Vol. I-iv-423; Vol. II-426. Price, two volumes, $6.00 *net.*

LECTURES ON THE HISTORY OF RELIGIONS. Vol. III—The Hebrew Bible; the Greek Testament; the Early Church; St. Augustine; Gregory VII; Aquinas; the Council of Trent; the Modern Papacy. London: The Catholic Truth Society; St. Louis, Mo.: B. Herder. 1910. Price, $0.60.

EN PÉNITENCE CHEZ LES JÉSUITES. Correspondance d'un Lycéen. Par Paul Ker. Troisième édition. Paris: P. Téqui. 1910. Pp. vi-348. Prix, 3 *fr.* 50.

LE PÉNITENT BRETON, PIERRE DE KERIOLET. Par le Vte. Hippolyte Le Gouvello. Troisième édition revue et corrigée. Avec un complément sur la *Légende populaire* et un portrait. Paris: P. Téqui. 1910.

LA RENAISSANCE ET LA RÉFORME. Par Fernand Mourret, Professeur d'Histoire au Séminaire de Saint-Sulpice. Deuxième édition. (*Histoire Générale de l'Église.*) Paris: Bloud et Cie. 1910. Pp. 604. Prix du chaque volume, 7 *fr.* 50; Reliure, en plus, 1 *fr.* 50.

L'HISTOIRE DES RELIGIONS ET LA FOI CHRÉTIENNE. A propos de l'"Orpheus" de M. Salomon Reinach. Par J. Bricout, Directeur de la *Revue du Clergé français.* (*Science et Religion,* 571-572.) Paris: Bloud & Cie. 1910. Pp. 128. Prix, 1 *fr.* 20.

ENCHIRIDION HISTORIAE ECCLESIASTICAE UNIVERSAE. Auctore P. Albers, S.J. Ad recognitam et auctam editionem Neerlandicam alteram in latinum sermonem versum. Tomus II: Aetas altera seu Medium Aevum, Annis 692-1517. New York, Cincinnati, Chicago: Benziger Bros.; Neomagi in Hollandia: Sumptibus L. C. G. Malmberg. 1910. Pp. 443.

COMBATS D'HIER ET D'AUJOURD'HUI. Première série: La Défense des Congrégations et des Écoles libres (1902-1905); deuxième série: Lendemains de Séparation (1906-1907) Par le Comte Albert de Mun, de l'Académie Française, député du Finistère. Paris, France: P. Lethielleux. 1910. Pp. Vol. I-622; Vol. II-384. Prix, deux vols. 8 *frs.*

LA RELIGION DE LA GRÈCE ANTIQUE. Par O. Habert. (Histoire des Religions-Bibliothèque de Vulgarisation.) Paris, France: P. Lethielleux. 1910. Pp. 600. Prix, 4 *frs.*

LA CORRESPONDANCE D'AUSONE ET DE PAULIN DE NOLE—Un Épisode de la fin du Paganisme—Avec une Étude critique, des Notes et un Appendice sur la question du Christianisme d'Ausone. Par Pierre de Labriolle, Professeur à l'Université de Fribourg (Suisse). (*Chefs-d'Œuvre de la Littérature religieuse.*) Paris: Bloud & Cie. 1910. Pp. 64.

VIE DE SAINTE RADEGONDE, REINE DE FRANCE. Par Saint Fortunat. Traduction publiée avec une Introduction, des Appendices et des Notes, par René Aigrain, du clergé de Poitiers. (*La Vie des Saints—Chefs d'Œuvre de la Littérature Hagiographique.*) (*Science et Religion—Études pour le Temps Présent*—564.) Paris: Bloud & Cie. Pp. 64. Prix, 0 *fr.* 60.

LA VIE DE SAINT BENOIT D'ANIANE. Par Saint Ardon, son disciple. Traduite sur le texte même du Cartulaire d'Aniane par Fernand Baumes. (*La Vie des Saints—Chefs d'Œuvres de la Littérature Hagiographique.*) (*Science et Religion—Études pour le Temps Présent*—562.) Paris: Bloud & Cie. Pp. 64. Prix, 0 *fr.* 60.

LE SCHISME DE PHOTIUS. Par J. Ruinaut. (*Questions Historiques.*) Paris: Bloud & Cie. 1910. Pp. 63. Prix, 0 *fr.* 60.

L'ENSEIGNEMENT CATHOLIQUE DANS LA FRANCE CONTEMPORAINE. Études et Discours. Par Alfred Baudrillart, Recteur de l'Institut Catholique de Paris. Paris: Bloud & Cie. 1910. Pp. viii-704. Prix, 7 *fr.* 50.

MISCELLANEOUS.

ASTRONOMICAL ESSAYS. By the Rev. George V. Leahy, S.T.L., of St. John's Seminary, Brighton, Mass. Boston: Washington Press. 1910. Pp. x-274. Price, $1.00.

ENGLISH ACCENTUATION. By the Rev. F. T. Barré, C.S.C., Professor of Sciences in the College of Saint-Laurent. New York, Philadelphia: P. J. Kenedy & Sons. Pp. 78.